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# USSR Report

WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

No. 3, March 1983

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17 June 1983

# USSR REPORT

## WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

No 3, March 1983

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language monthly journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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## ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES IN 'MEMO' JOURNAL

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 158-159

[Text] The article "Marxism as the Science of Liberation of a Man and Mankind as a Whole" by V. Zagladin and I. Frolov is timed to the centenary of K. Marx's death. Marxism today is the most influential and constantly developing theoretical system that denoted not only the objective laws of the human history but also the ways and methods providing for the liberation of mankind. K. Marx showed the proletariat its historic mission and practical means of its class emancipation from the capitalist exploitation. Economic social and spiritual liberation of a man in order to free his inner potentials and to develop them in creative work - this is, according to K. Marx, the main guideline of the human history. The theory of K. Marx and F. Engels, developed by V. I. Lenin, enriched by the practical experience of the world communist movement is nowadays embodied in the economic and social accomplishments of socialism which has chosen the motto: All for the man. All for his welfare.

N. Kolikov in his article "For Realism and Responsibility in Global Policy" considers the peace policy of the socialist countries determined by the very nature of their social system, the awareness of their responsibility for the fate of civilization that rests with them in these troubled times when belicose quarters are seeking to push humanity onto the slippery path, leading to a nuclear catastrophe. The author says that the initiatives put forward in recent speeches by Y. V. Andropov and in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states serve as the starting point in shaping a global policy, consonant with the realities and needs of the present complex and contradictory stage in international relations. The new political proposals of the U.S.S.R. and its allies, the author notes, both in content and form are an appeal to the West to join in seeking a common language on the key issues of war and peace such as: nuclear disarmament, political cooperation, mutually beneficial businesslike joint efforts, the building of mutual trust. There is only one rational option--negotiations, reduction and limitation of armaments and disarmament.

In his article "'Economic Warfare' or Economic Contest?" V. Shemyatenkov examines three contrasting approaches to East-West trade: the idea of an "economic warfare" against the socialist countries implicit in US administration's policy; more realistic non-Marxist concepts of unimpeded development of inter-system trade; the Marxist-Leninist stand embodied in the policy of the socialist countries. The author demonstrates that the idea of the "economic Warfare" is economically and politically untenable. East-West trade is an unalienable part of the world economic development and therefore is destined to grow. At the same time it is a specific segment of world economic relations where the two opposing social systems come into a direct economic contest evolving in the form of mutually advantageous economic cooperation and market competition.

Ya. Etinger in his article "The Important Factor of Peace and International Security" examines the role of the non-aligned movement in the modern world.

The author notes that the problem of peace and international security has always ranked high in the non-aligned movement though its role in the solution of this task at different stages has differed. The article notes that the growing of the role of the non-aligned movement in the struggle for peace, the heightening of its activity in the international arena take place against the background of differentiation among the developing countries thus laying its imprint on the positions of individual participants of the movement on this or that issue of world politics. The article emphasizes that imperialism seeks to split the movement, to drive a wedge between it and the socialist community, to emasculate and deprive the movement of its anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist character. The author notes that the imperialist course firstly of the present American administration aimed at undermining the movement, encounters the mounting resistance of the newly independent states. The stand of the USSR and other socialist countries as well as of the non-aligned nations on basic issues of world politics coincide as was vividly demonstrated by the XXXVII UN General Session.

The article "Information Imperialism and the Struggle for New Information Order" by I. Sivtsev and V. Saidov emphasizes that the developing countries have during the last twenty years achieved considerable successes in maintaining political and economic independence. However they largely depend on the major western information agencies which maintain their monopoly in collecting, processing and transmitting information. The international structure of four major western agencies: AP, UPI, France Presse and Reuter enables them to transmit roughly 90 percent of all the world news. The 'information boom' of the last few decades has considerably increased their opportunities thus making it possible for 'information imperialism' not only to export information but render substantial influence on forming public opinion in different states. The developing countries with the support of the socialist states have been waging a campaign in UNESCO for creating a new international information order. Under the pretext of a "free information distribution" the western countries headed by the USA in every possible way opposed the establishment of such a system in an attempt to maintain their monopoly in the field of information and to perpetuate the scientific and technical dependence of the developing countries.

The modern bourgeois macroeconomic theory is focused on such acute socio-economic problems as unemployment and inflation. The connection between the dimensions of unemployment and the rate of inflation is used to be interpreted by the bourgeois macroeconomic theory in terms of the so-called Phillips curve. That's why the discussion that raged around the Phillips curve in the late 1970's helped to reveal the most typical ideological techniques designated to secure the capitalist system.

R. Entov in the article "Eminence' and Decline of Phillips Curve" features this discussion, emphasizing the particulars of the "rational expectations" concept and investigating the postulates of the "supplieside" economics. The author also examines the antagonisms stemming from the realization of the guideposts prescribed by the proponents of the named above theories. The proposed cures that became operational within the "Reaganomics" failed, they didn't help the capitalist economy to overcome the severe and destructive crisis of 1980-1982.

The most of big industrial corporations resort to the outside financing to overcome the recessive production and recurrent crises. V. Smirnov in the article "Project Financing as the New Form in the Activity of Transnational Banks" considers the dimensions of the international banking, its contemporary framework comparing it with the national credit facilities. The author stresses the economic role of the international banking in the reshaping of the industrial structure of the developed capitalist countries.

The industrial distribution of international loans involved the shift from the traditional credit operations to the project financing directed to provide for the large scale investments at the international level. Nowadays the project financing actually takes such forms as syndicate loans and emission of obligations.

This new form of international banking stipulates the greater involvement of transnational banks into the production matters of industrial corporations thus representing the additional canal for the growing interpenetration of the bank and industrial capital. The new international business, becoming the arena of the interimperialist rivalry accelerates the oppression of the great finance at the international level.

N. Karagodin in the article "Industrial Exports from Developing Countries to Developed Capitalist Countries: Aggravation of Contradictions and Obstacles" examines the scope and consequences of industrial export expansion of developing countries. The author argues that these countries' industrial exports have become one of the central elements in the system of economic relations of the two parts of the non-socialist world. The structure of these exports has been greatly diversified and includes many products of varying technical level. Traditional international division of labour based on exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods in many cases is being replaced by intraindustry division of labour, based on exchange of goods differing in the degree of technical sophistication. Analyzing developed capitalist countries' reactions to the new developments, the article stresses

divergent positions of different groups of interest in these countries. The "freetrader's" block includes transnational corporations, consumers, exporters and other groups directly benefiting from the growth of trade with developing countries. The protectionist policy is backed mainly by representatives of stagnating industries. The conflict between the two approaches to developing countries' export thus appears to be the conflict of the short-term and parochial interests of capitalism versus broad and long-term ones.

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## HUMANISTIC NATURE OF MARXISM-LENINISM EMPHASIZED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 3-15

[Article by V. Zagladin and I. Frolov: "Marxism -- A Science of the Liberation of Man and Mankind": passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bold-face]

[Text] A total of 165 years separates Karl Marx's birth from our days. Less than a century and a half has elapsed since the time when, together with Friedrich Engels, he began to formulate the principles of the revolutionary doctrine on the development of society. And it is only 100 years which separate us from the days when the stormy course of life, filled with selfless creative work of the "Great Moor" [Marx's nickname -- FBIS], came to an end.

Altogether only 100 years, one century ... But what a century! With respect to saturation with events and achievements in the material and spiritual spheres of the life of mankind it exceeds, perhaps everything known to history in the past.

It was a century of paramount revolutionary transformations of society, a century which has become witness to the emergence of the first socialist state in history, the socialist world system, and subsequently -- of the downfall of colonialism and the powerful upswing of the national liberation movements. It was a century of a tremendous upsurge of the human genius which discovered many secrets of nature: The complex world of the atomic nucleus and the boundless regions of space, the genetic code of life and the laws which govern the very life of man.

But it also has been a period of great trials for mankind -- two sanguinary world wars, which took the lives of dozens of millions of people, the horrors of fascist obscurantism and atomic death, and an unbridled arms race. The old has never given way, has never disappeared without a struggle and the grandiose achievements of mankind in the past 100 years have been paid for with almost equally great sacrifices -- human, material and spiritual.

Hence if one bears in mind the social time it was not a century but centuries which have passed since the day when K. Marx died -- the brilliant scientist and revolutionary, indeed a giant in the history of mankind to whom nothing human was alien and to use F. Engels' words, his name and work have outlived that century which is equal to several centuries.

Marxism today is the embodiment of the grandiose cause of all times, a cause which even in the form of myths and utopias appeared as the liberation of man from the social relations of exploitation which paralyzed his genius and work. In our times his work appears in a unity of the mainstreams of the world revolutionary process, among which a particular place is rightfully occupied by the community of socialist states, which in the shortest period of history has made its way to the foremost lines of socio-economic development and which, according to the words of Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is a powerful, healthy organism, playing an enormous and beneficial role in the modern world.

Marxism today is the most influential and incessantly developing doctrine about the ways and methods of the liberation of man and mankind: it is the collective mind of the world liberation movement: the essence of this integrated doctrine consists of the fact that Marxism is first and foremost and mainly a doctrine of the complete liberation of man and mankind from the enslavement of the system of capitalist oppression and exploitation. The rest, including its main economic principle only involves the means for achieving this end. It is not by accident that Marx himself repeatedly used the concept of an "end in itself" in order to emphasize even more the significance and place which man and his existence and development occupy in Marxist doctrine. The economic social and spiritual liberation of man, the setting free of his potential internal forces and their free and all-round assertion in the process of creative building -- this, according to Marx, is the meaning of history and of all science about man and his history. The great upheaval in social thinking accomplished by Marx focuses precisely on this. This upheaval is all the greater because, in essence, Marx created the science of the liberation of man and mankind since it was he who discovered and proved the laws, ways and means for accomplishing the given historical work.

This has been clearly imprinted in the process of the emergence, forming and development of Marxism as an integrated system, in the logic of its scientific "unfolding," a logic which reflects the orientation of the research and the supporting evidence adduced by the founders of Marxism -- above all, Marx himself. The most fundamental tenet of Marxism is the recognition of the fact that the liberation of man, the emancipation of his personality and of the creative potential contained in it are only possible under the conditions of all mankind, of freeing it from the yoke of the historically established system of exploitation, oppression and injustice -- a system whose emergence and existence are directly connected with the rule of one or another form of social relations based on private ownership, and consequently, breaking up this system constitutes a most important prerequisite for implementing the tenets of the science on the liberation of mankind.



It is precisely a tenet of science, because for the first time in the history of social thinking Marxism abandons the abstract, nonhistorical and above-class approach to the problems of man, to the problems of genuine humanism. Marxism places these problems on a realistic historical basis and organically links the implementation of the ideals of liberating man with the only truly scientific theory of social development, with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, with the struggle for communism.

This theory, founded in the works of K. Marx and F. Engels and developed by V. I. Lenin and by the entire experience of the world communist movement, in our times is being given a real, practical implementation in the gains of socialism which has selected as the catchword of its development the demand--everything on behalf of man, everything for the benefit of man.

From the very beginning of his creative activity, even before working out the scientific dialectic-materialistic foundations of the new concept of the world, K. Marx appeals to man. He seeks a "categorical imperative" which commands the "overthrowing of all relations in which man is a degraded, enslaved, helpless and despised being."<sup>1</sup> This key idea is formulated by Marx in the introduction to "On the Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law". (written in late 1843 - January 1844), and there already he arrives at the important conclusion that the only social system worthy of man is democracy. But this is not enough: Marx seeks forms for actually asserting it and finds them in the idea of communism.

Communism eliminates private property, liquidates all forms of the exploitation of man by man, puts an end to wars and to social antagonisms, and to all possible sorts of social and national oppression. The communist social formation places all the achievements of science and culture at the services of the broadest masses of working people and creates the proper material, social and spiritual prerequisites for a harmonious and all-round flourishing of the free human personality. The development of man becomes society's paramount goal because it only is under this condition that a further progressive development of society itself can be achieved. It is precisely because of this that K. Marx termed communism a real, practical humanism.

First all this was formulated by Marx in an abstract philosophical form, but it is important this his switch to materialism and communism was accomplished as a quest for the social laws and ways of man's practical liberation. "Any emancipation -- Marx underscored -- involves returning a human world, human relations to man himself. .... only then, if man realizes and organizes his own forces as social forces and therefore no longer separates from himself the social force in the shape of a political force, only then will human emancipation be accomplished".<sup>2</sup> Such also was the position of F. Engels, who at roughly the same time wrote that "Now man is the solution of the puzzle, and a solution in the widest possible sense of the world. And this puzzle will be solved."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in F. Engels' view: "Man must only come to know himself, must make himself the yardstick of all relations in life, evaluate them in conformity with his nature, build the world in a truly humane manner in keeping with the requirements of his nature -- and then the puzzle of our times will be solved by him."<sup>4</sup> But how "The world should be

organized in a truly human manner" -- this is the problem, and the founders of Marxism, disassociating themselves from the illusions of philosophical anthropology, arrive at a materialistic understanding of history, at the idea of the universal-historical role of the proletariat which, liberating itself from the shackles of capitalist oppression, accomplishes a general human emancipation, the liberation of man as a social being.

This is why the subsequent work, ideas and research of Marx and Engels do not at all imply, as it is being presented by the opponents of Marxism, a "departure" from the problems of man and humanism but, quite the contrary, imply a more profound and extensive scientific examination of these problems in those actual relationships in which this "puzzle of our times" is being solved. This is clearly examined in Marx's "Economic-Philosophical Writings of 1844," where particularly problems related to the alienation of man and to his self-alienation were thoroughly examined: in the famous "Theses About Feuerback," in which man's social nature was exposed as the "aggregate of all social relations," in the German ideology of K. Marx and F. Engels; and finally in the "Communist Manifesto" and particularly in Marx's "Capital" -- the crown of Marxism and the supreme expression of the upheaval in the science of the liberation of man, an upheaval which has no equal in the history of human thought.

The fact is of essential importance that we see here the development of Marx's theory of the liberation of man as well as of the very scientific concept of essence and existence, of his individual and historical development and progress. Whereas in his early works Marx placed more emphasis on the problems of the generic nature of man, he later chiefly analyzed the actual functioning of man as a product of certain social-historical relations and solved the task of defining the specific ways and methods of man's liberation in the course of a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and of the assertion of a communist formation which ensures an integral development of man in which, as K. Marx and F. Engels underscore in the "Communist Manifesto", the free development of each individual is a precondition for the free development of all."<sup>5</sup>

This movement of thought is receiving powerful stimuli not only as a result of theoretical, above all economic, research ("Economic Writings of 1857-59," "Capital" and others) but also as the outcome of an analysis of its own experiences in revolutionary activities ("Communist Party Manifesto" ("Criticism of the Gotha Program," and others) and of a generalization of the historical experience in the class struggle ("The Class Struggle in France 1848-50," the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," the "Civil War in France," and others.

As a result, Marxism appears as a philosophic orientation for mankind, as an integrated scientific concept of the world, as a revolutionary doctrine on the ways and methods of the social-economic and spiritual liberation of man and as a comprehensively grounded, complex science of man and of his development in all the totality of the social relations that make up his essence and determine his social and natural existence, that is, as a scientific, realistic communist humanism.

In his famous article "Karl Marx" V. I. Lenin, revealing Marxism as a system of views and teachings of Marx, underscored Marxism's remarkable consistency and soundness. Indeed, philosophic materialism, dialectics, the materialistic concept of history, the doctrine of the class struggle, and finally the economic tenets, the theory of socialism and communism, and the tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat have all been fused into one whole in Marxism, have all been clamped together with an iron logic that serves a single purpose -- the liberation of mankind. Each component part of Marxism constitutes a vast sphere of research and in each Marx's genius manifested itself with an unprecedented creative force and novelty that at the same time evolved in a continuous link with the great inheritance of the past and in which its scientific revolutionary and humanistic aspects exist in an inseparable unity. Marx's greatness manifested itself in exposing and explaining this unity, not just in elaborating on some individual aspect of a concept of the world.

The very scientific definition of man's nature, formulated by Marx as early as the "Theses About Feuerback," provides the key to grasping this problem. It was clear to Marx from the very beginning that the nature of man is "not made up by its abstract physical nature but by its /social quality/"<sup>6</sup> and that therefore "All history is nothing but a continuous change in human nature"<sup>7</sup> He believed, however, that "we must know what human nature is in general and how it is being modified at a given historical era."<sup>8</sup>

Marx seeks the definition of human nature in man's specific activity and life and finds it in man's work. As early as in the "Economic-Philosophical Writings of 1844," he noted that to man "production is his active generic life." Thanks to the ... production, nature turns out to be /his/ product and his reality."<sup>9</sup> It was precisely work that created man, and it is precisely in work that the specific qualities of man are being asserted and developed, in the work "On the Criticism of Political Economy," human labor is defined by Marx as a "purposeful activity, aimed at mastering elements of nature." it "constitutes a natural condition of human existence, a condition for the exchange of matters between man and nature, a condition which is not contingent on any social form."<sup>10</sup> According to Marx, work is not merely a means of life but also a form of man's self-assertion. Man "really asserts himself as a /generic being/ in work."<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, for Marx work manifests itself first and foremost as a social attitude toward nature and, therefore, the "community of man," his social character, by necessity becomes part of the concept of man's essence. Man and society are inseparable and it only is in society, in certain definite formations, that man asserts himself as man. Karl Marx wrote: "Man will always remain the essence of all these social formations, but these formations also manifest themselves as his /real/ universality, and therefore also as something that is /common/ to all people."<sup>12</sup> Consequently, the emergence and forming of man in his social essence involve the development of the "totality of all social relations," that is, in keeping with Marxism, involve that historical development of people which is above all expressed in the emergence and development of social production, which under certain conditions bring about a change of the social-economic formations.

K. Marx and F. Engels underscored that "the method of production must not only be viewed from the position that it is the reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. It is to an even larger degree a definite method of activity of given individuals, a definite aspect of their live activity, their definite way of life."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, in particular "the history of industry and the /specific/ existence of industry as it has developed constitute an /open/ book of /man's essential forces/, of a human psychology that perceptibly appears before us and, which previously was never examined in its connection with man's /essence/."<sup>14</sup>

Man, Marx emphasized, is the "historical prerequisite of human history and also is history's constant product and result."<sup>15</sup> Hence, the development of the wealth of human nature is the development of man as a personality in the process of his material and intellectual activity, of associating with other people, of his study, training and education, as well as in the process of assimilating and reproducing the socio-cultural experience of mankind, of the progress of social relations and way of life, of consciousness and self-consciousness and of moral perfection.

At the same time Marx stressed the complexity and contradictory nature of the process of the forming of personality, particularly the ambiguous nature of the manifestation of its individuality. In this connection he focused attention on the distinction between the "individual as a personality" and the "accidental individual" who has no opportunity to "assert himself as a personality," to develop his inclinations and abilities in a vital activity and way of life that agree with his essence, that are truly human and are only possible under socialism and communism which, "together with a tremendous flourishing of the productive forces of social labor, also ensure the most complete development of man."<sup>16</sup> Communism opens up prospects for creating "for /all people/ those conditions of life under which everybody is given the opportunity to freely develop his human nature and live with his relatives in a human relationship."<sup>17</sup> This is why communism is "the era of man," a new civilization that creates a new man as the result of social development, of its conditions and moving force, and as a result of its "self-purpose."

Marx's everlasting merit consists in the fact that, together with F. Engels, he gave an example of a truly scientific approach to solving the fundamental problems of social life, problems which had already been raised by the most advanced human thought and which mankind was struggling to solve. As is well known, Marx's doctrine was based on the foundations of certain schools of socio-political philosophy, social-economic thinking, which were progressive for their times. His doctrine assimilated humanistic ideals that had inspired the finest brains and most honest hearts of mankind throughout all its preceding history. But Marx approached the basic problems of mankind not only as a great humanist but also as a great realist. Marx proved that as capitalism develops there emerges a complex of conditions which make it practically possible and historically inevitable to destroy the exploitation of man by man. Through his analysis of capitalist society Marx gave scientific grounding to the material possibility of solving the social problems

confronting mankind; he revealed the main social force capable of heading the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society -- the workers class; and he created a scientific theory of mankind's move on the road to liberation and explained the vanguard role of the communist party in this process.

K. Marx's major achievements consist of his combining the lofty humanistic ideals of liberating man and mankind with a social movement that not only was striving for such a liberation but which for the first time in history was capable of accomplishing it -- through the struggle of the workers class, of all working people. By doing so, there were added to Marxist humanism not only a strictly scientific, proletarian class character and an orientation toward the future, but also a most revolutionary nature and historical effectiveness. "The main thing in Marx's doctrine," V. I. Lenin underscored, "Is the elucidation of the universal historical role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society."<sup>18</sup> All those who implemented Marxist ideals in the struggle or in life, regardless of the country where it took place, have declared their solidarity with this assessment of the ideological and humanistic legacy of Marx. "Because this is what makes up his immortal credit," K. Liebknecht said about K. Marx, for example, "that he /liberated/ the proletariat and the party of the working people /from phrases/, and that he gave to it the solid, indestructible basis of /science/!"

The course of history has fully borne out the worldwide historical role of the proletariat in the revolutionary transformation of society, discovered by K. Marx. And today precisely the workers class -- regardless of whether it holds the power in the socialist countries or continues waging the struggle against oppression and exploitation in the capitalist countries -- remains as before the foremost and most revolutionary stratum of social progress, the advocate of its most humane ideals and goals.

## II [I Roman one missing in text]

K. Marx harbored a sharply critical attitude toward all utopian projects or, "projections into the future," as people would now call them, the founder of scientific communism expressed this clearly as early as at the daybreak of his activity. He opposed dogmatist attempts to anticipate the future. He pointed out: "... what is important is not to draw in one's thoughts a big dividing line between the past and the future but to /implement/ the ideas of the past." "But if designing the future is not our task," Marx underscored, "we know all the more distinctly what must be done at present."<sup>19</sup>

"...The entire world outlook... of Marx," F. Engels wrote, "is not a doctrine but rather a method. It does not provide readymade dogmas but rather the starting points for further research and the methods for that research."<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the orientation to the future is not a "goal unto itself" for Marxism; it is necessary to better perceive the contemporary problems, the tendencies of development of the contemporary society leading to the future; and this is strikingly demonstrated today by the current and planned activities of the CPSU, other fraternal parties of the socialist community and the communist and workers parties of the capitalist and developing states.

The cause of liberation and development of man in our period and in the future is their common goal. The Marxist science of the ways and forms of liberation and development of man serves this goal. The method of materialist dialectic, scientifically substantiated by Marx, unifies the theory and practice of Marxism and ensures their advance.

According to V. I. Lenin, the dialectic constitutes the "living soul" of Marxist science. It represents that "restless" beginning that moves it forward and ensures its creative development at all stages of the struggle for the liberation and development of man. As Marx wrote, "in its rational aspects, the dialectic fills the bourgeoisie and its doctrinaire ideologists only with anger and terror just as it simultaneously includes the understanding of the negation and necessary downfall of the existing order in the understanding of that existing order; it considers every realized form in its movement and, consequently, also in its passing aspects; it does not bow before anything; and it is critical and revolutionary by its very essence."

It is precisely the creative principle of the dialectic method of Marxism that has ensured the growing scientific and practical significance that it has won in the contemporary period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The theoretical and revolutionary activity of V. I. Lenin fulfilled a decisive role in this connection. It is possible to say with complete justification that the science of liberation of man and mankind found new life precisely in the continuation and renewal of Marxism, as a system of views and teachings of Marx, as a result of the appearance and development of Leninism.

Even though the opponents of Marxism may agree to some extent to recognize the historical merits of the founder of Marxism, they continue to categorically refuse to agree that Lenin's great teachings represented a continuation of the life work and the great teachings of Marx and Engels. And what is more, the opponents of Marxism spare no efforts to counterpose Lenin to Marx and Engels. However, what is most often encountered in this connection is the fact that Lenin is counterposed to Marx and Engels as a special kind of antihumanism to humanism. It is claimed that, whereas K. Marx and F. Engels paid due attention to human personality, to the individual and his destiny, V. I. Lenin allegedly completely renounced all that.

Of course, Marx and Lenin lived and created under different historical conditions and, it can be even said, in different historical periods. Because of historical needs, Marx devoted his main attention to uncovering and explaining the objective laws of social development and to proving the inevitability of the downfall of the capitalist production methods and their replacement with a higher communist social formation. But V. I. Lenin's creative work took place in the period when the age of capitalism was already approaching its end. Having brilliantly continued the research into the objective conditions of social development, the research initiated by Marx, and having uncovered imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism, V. I. Lenin for completely understandable reasons, turned his attention



primarily to the questions of how the destruction of capitalism should take place and what the relationship between the objective and subjective factors in this new period should be.

If Marx revealed the essence of the problem of liberation of man and of those historical conditions necessary for the realization of this liberation, then V. I. Lenin showed in his works how the laws discovered by Marx should be implemented and how the transformation of social life leading to a real liberation of mankind should be started in practice. The inspiration of Lenin's creative work is in preparing and carrying out the socialist revolution and in preparing and carrying out the socialist construction, that is, in carrying out in practice the initial stage of that turn of worldwide historical importance whose inevitability had been demonstrated by K. Marx.

But does this mean that V. I. Lenin moved away from the basic principle formulated by K. Marx, the principle that essentially amounts to the fact that history must lead to forming a genuinely human society and that, in the final account, man is the measure and the highest point of summing up the historical accomplishments? Of course not; on the contrary, V. I. Lenin's entire creative work was based on Marx's theory of liberation of man and of establishing harmony in human relations.

The discussion between V. I. Lenin and G. V. Plekhanov in the very early period of our party, in the period when the party's first program was prepared, is interesting from this viewpoint. At that time, Plekhanov proposed a formulation that defined the new society as a planned organization of the social production process aimed at "satisfying the needs both of the entire society and of each of its individual members". V. I. Lenin expressed his opposition to this formulation. He wrote: "That is too little. After all, even the trusts may provide such an organization. It would be more definite to say for the benefit of the /entire/ society (because this includes the planned character and calls attention to the factor directing the planned character) and not only to satisfy the needs of members [of the society -- FBIS]; but rather to ensure /complete/ welfare and /comprehensive/ development of all members of the society."<sup>22</sup>

It is clear from Lenin's observation that his disagreement was caused by two elements. First, this was an insufficient social determination of the planned organization of production process about which Plekhanov had written. What must be involved in this connection, Lenin emphasizes, is social production based on social ownership ("for the benefit of the /entire/society"). Second, Lenin carries the purpose of production beyond the framework of simple satisfaction of the needs of the society and its members and broadens the scope of this purpose -- in complete conformity with the teachings of K. Marx and F. Engels -- to the "/complete/ welfare and free /comprehensive/ development of all members of the society." In other words, V. I. Lenin was not satisfied with Plekhanov's formulation precisely because of its deviation from the basic principled position of K. Marx, the orientation to the liberation of human personality and to ensuring its comprehensive development. It is possible to cite quite a few such examples of Lenin's exception-

ally consistent and, it can be said, scrupulous attitude toward formulating the goal of the socialist and communist society.

Continuously pursuing the studies initiated by K. Marx and F. Engels, V. I. Lenin took full consideration of the fact that the liberation of human personality can only be a result of the liberation of society, the transformation of the entire social life and the liquidation of the social foundations of oppression and exploitation. And this task cannot be fulfilled by the individual personality. Carefully following the line of thought and the logic of Marx and being guided by his revolutionary dialectic, V. I. Lenin demonstrated in his works the liberation of human personality achieved through the liberation of the workers class. The liberation of the workers class will represent the liberation of the entire society and the liquidation of all oppression and exploitation, and precisely under these conditions the human personality can achieve the freedom for its comprehensive development.

In other words, the emphasis on the role of the workers class in V. I. Lenin's works is a result of a concrete historical approach to the question of how and along what paths the liberation of personality can be achieved.

The very same thing applies to Lenin's formulation of the question of the party and its role.

Marx elaborated the thesis that, if the proletariat has its spiritual weapon in philosophy, then the philosophy has in the proletariat the means for implementing its conclusions. It is precisely Marx who elaborated the thesis of indissoluble unity between the ideological foundations of communism and the practical actions aimed at building communism. It was also Marx, together with Engels, who drew the practical conclusion from this thesis, the conclusion about the need to form the revolutionary party armed with the scientific theory of social transformation of the world.

V. I. Lenin's greatest contribution to the development of Marxism and its practical realization was, in particular, in the fact that he comprehensively proved the need to form, under the new historical conditions, a revolutionary Marxist party of a new type, a party which would in practice represent a result of the union of Marxism and its ideas with the workers class and its historical practice. And, of course, Lenin saw the inspiration of the party's activities in the fact that it would help raise the individual personality to the level of active and effective subjective factor of world history.

In other words, V. I. Lenin's significant and, it can be said, exceptional contribution to Marx's theory of the liberation of man is in the fact that he, the leader of the October Revolution, revealed the laws of the socialist revolution and its realization and, at the same time, demonstrated, that this revolution is the product of the individual human personality that is being liberated. The personality, the will and interests of which are expressed by the workers class and its revolutionary party.



The second question which was raised and comprehensively examined by V. I. Lenin concerned the fate of the individual personality under the conditions of socialism. What we call today the formation of a new man, the man of the period of socialism and communism, was originally comprehensively uncovered and substantiated precisely by V. I. Lenin. And this is understandable: It was he who faced for the first time in history the question of building socialism as a practical question, and it was precisely in this connection that he could not avoid devoting his attention to the question of how man himself should change in the process of becoming a new social personality and what kind of man should be the man creating the conditions for his own liberation. Or, to put it another way, what changes should the process of man's liberation from the fetters of old society originate in man himself.

And in this connection, too, V. I. Lenin consistently followed Marx by developing his ideas. To be true, the contemporary opponents of Marxism claim that Marx allegedly never spoke about the necessity of reeducating the people. They claim that Marx and Engels were allegedly adherents of the spontaneous formation of human awareness and that it was really only Lenin who raised the question of purposeful education of the masses of people.

The problems connected with this are the subject of lively discussions among communists, too. According to some viewpoints, the future socialist society should be, so to speak, separated from ideology. At best, socialism is reduced to a transformation of the economic system and of the political democracy. And the ideology, the spiritual life should be, so to speak, placed within brackets. Thus the question arises about the possibility for the existence of a "non-ideological state" under socialism.

We will not expatiate upon the topic that this kind of approach, which separates the spiritual sphere from the economic and social basis, contradicts by its very essence not only dialectical materialism but also materialism in general. And even more, this kind of approach has nothing in common with the real views of K. Marx.

In this connection it can be mentioned that, beginning with their early works, K. Marx and F. Engels implemented the idea that the workers class cannot quite simply become the ruling class and that it must pass through a tremendous school for that purpose. "... A mass change in the people is necessary and it is possible only in movement, in the /revolution;/ ... the revolution is necessary not only because the /ruling/ class cannot be overthrown by any other means but also because it is only through the revolution that the class that is /overthrowing/ the ruling class can rid itself of all turpitude of the past and become capable of creating a new basis of the society."<sup>23</sup> In other words, to be able to transform the world, the workers class must transform itself in a corresponding way.

Marx also demanded that the workers class and the masses should be prepared for their decisive march against the political authority of the ruling classes "through a constant agitation against that authority and by adopting a hostile attitude toward the policy of the ruling classes." "Should this not be done," Marx wrote, "The workers class will continue to be a toy in their hands...."<sup>24</sup>

In reality, every successive stage of the workers movement in the period prior to the October revolution in 1917 was marked by definite changes in the proletariat itself and by changes in the appearance of the entire society. However, the most serious changes of this kind took place after the October Revolution first in our country and then in other countries which embarked on the road of building socialism. And this reorganization was extraordinarily complicated because what was involved was not simply the fact that the workers class became the ruling class, the class which was master of the country, but also because the workers class had to learn to solve unusual problems, problems to which it had not been accustomed. What is involved is that the very essence of these problems changed radically. The new society could not simply repeat the old solutions discovered under the conditions of domination of the exploitative social relations. It has to find the solutions which were appropriate to its essence and its basic goals.

It is understandable that for that reason the workers class had to change internally, reeducate itself and, to repeat K. Marx's words, "rid itself of all of its old turpitude." Directly continuing Marx's elaboration of this question, V. I. Lenin said that "the proletariat ... is not devoid of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the capitalist society. It will struggle for socialism, and, at the same time, it will struggle against its own shortcomings."<sup>25</sup> Instilling in the workers class a new attitude toward work and toward social property is the basis of the socialist outlook on the world and of the socialist psychology, and Lenin considered this as a process of an "upheaval that is more difficult, more essential, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie because it represents a victory over the workers class' own inertness, dissoluteness and petty bourgeois egotism."<sup>26</sup> The creation of new forms of social relations among people is the task of many years and decades.

Under the conditions existing in our country, the fulfillment of this task was considerably more complicated during the early stages as a result of the fact that, while learning the experience of building socialism, an experience heretofore unknown to anyone, the workers class of the former tsarist Russia was compelled at the same time to pass through an elementary school of general and special education and form those social and practical habits that it could not develop previously because of the relative backwardness of the country. To become a socialist workers class, the mass of the illiterate Russian proletariat was compelled at the very beginning to sit at school desks in the true meaning of this word. In his time, V. I. Lenin wrote a great deal about the significance and complex nature of this task, emphasizing that communism can only be built on the basis of modern education and that, should this not be mastered, communism would remain only a wish.

The workers class of the land of the soviets needed more than one decade to become in practice a highly developed, educated, modern and socialist workers class. On the way to the heights of its present achievements, it had to pass through the fire of wars and the tests of everyday work. All aspects and qualities of the Soviet workers class, ranging from its professional training to its moral and cultural level, have changed.

The analogous processes are also taking place in other countries of socialism. There, too, the formation and development of the workers class and the fulfillment of its historical mission are by far not a simple process. This is true because a majority of these countries also approached their revolutions in a state of low general and social development. As a result of this situation, what was essentially involved nearly everywhere was not only a matter of socialist reeducation of an already existing workers class but also a matter of a process of its simultaneous formation from among the non-proletarian classes, including primarily the peasantry.

The complex nature of the path traversed by the workers class of the countries of the socialist community is unfortunately by far not always accorded due consideration even by those who sympathetically follow the building of the new society from the side. At times, it is possible to hear from them various kinds of reproaches levelled at this society. However, the substance of these reproaches shows that their authors often proceed from the incorrect assumption that the building of socialism is basically a simple process and that the working people only have to assume power and then everything will automatically follow on its own.

The rich experience of world socialism, a system that has triumphed in countries with different levels of development, demonstrates the unsubstantiated nature of this assumption. It has confirmed again and again that building a new society is not a simple task and that it is a task that demands constant work and intensive efforts, including a profound reformation of social awareness and the education of a new, socialist human personality capable of becoming a builder of the new society in practice.

The process of forming such a new truly socialist human personality is naturally still far from being completed. Nevertheless, the decisive turn on the way to its formation has been already passed in our country. This decisive turn started with the liquidation of private ownership of the means of production and trade, with the liberation of labor and with the process of overcoming the alienation of human personality that is inherent to capitalism. This decisive turn was continued with the building of socialism and the formation of a developed socialist society that not only proceeds from the interests and rights of the working people and strives to take into consideration to a maximum extent these interests but also provides for an active and creative participation of the working people in the entire social process. The developed socialism has not been only able to ensure a steady improvement of the material standard of living of the working people but has been also able to guarantee for every individual member of the society the necessary level of general educational and professional training and the possibility of access to any cultural values and to create the conditions for physically improving, protecting and maintaining the health of people of all age groups.

All these achievements are such historical achievements which the old capitalist system and, in general any other social system based on the domination of private property could not and cannot obtain for man. And in this respect, too, socialism -- despite all of its realistically existing difficulties and problems -- has fully and definitely confirmed its superiority over capitalism.

"New criteria are taking root in the awareness of millions of people in the capitalist world, the criteria by which they compare the two world systems," Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, said in his speech at the 24th CPSU Congress. "These appraisals are not limited to superficial comparisons. They do not take into account only the indexes of industrial growth or commodity prices. Entire qualitative aspects of life have been now thrown on the scales. The level of material comfort has a very important place in this connection but the dimension of measuring has now become much wider. It includes the entire spectrum of human values and their comparative importance determined by the internal laws of each of the systems. It includes the concepts of morals, culture and philosophy inherent to these systems. Many of these new components which influence the qualitative aspects of life cannot be measured by any indexes expressed in numbers.

"How is it possible to measure and compare the entire depth of uncertainty about tomorrow and the growing feeling of alienation and disillusionment caused by the separation from active participation in the life of the society under capitalism, on one hand, and the feeling of being needed by the society and one's ability to determine its development in socialism, on the other?"

The accomplishments of the socialist world are truly achievements of a world-wide historical nature. The developed socialism is demonstrating with its practice that mankind is really able to follow the road of establishing harmony among people and between mankind and nature. In our period, developed socialism appears in its own countries and in the international arena as an active transforming force that is opening before all mankind the prospects for a genuine triumph of the ideals of humanism.

There is no country or group of countries and no ideological or political trend that has not felt, in one or another form, the influence of socialism and the effect of the humanist ideals and principles of Marxism-Leninism and of their successful implementation. And no matter how difficult the process of building new life and a new liberated mankind may be, each step and each success on this road is marked by the creative genius of those who attended to the birth of this teaching.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia truly awakened the awareness of the oppressed peoples. The colonial system of imperialism has been liquidated and irretrievably left in the past and more than 100 liberated countries have taken its place. As a result of this, a majority of the population of our earth emerged, as V. I. Lenin foresaw it, from the position in which it was left outside historical progress, and began to actively participate in determining the fate of the entire world. Struggling against imperialism and neocolonialism. The peoples of developing states rely on the assistance and support of the countries of socialism, which are guided by the Leninist premise that the communists "are building completely different international relations that provide for all oppressed nationalities the possibility of saving themselves from imperialist oppression."<sup>27</sup>

No propaganda stratagems of the bourgeois ideologists and politicians can hide the unquestionable fact that not only did capitalism -- during the long period of its existence and while it realized undoubted material achievements -- fail to lead to man's liberation, as its prophets believed and hoped, but, on the contrary, turned into the main obstacle on the road to such a liberation. It was precisely capitalism that held back the development of many peoples for decades, if not even longer, at a price of millions of human lives and resulted in the physical extermination of some of these peoples. Intensifying the conflict between man and nature on a worldwide scale to dangerous limits, it is precisely capitalism that simultaneously acts as a brake in solving this and other global problems of mankind. Finally in our period, it is precisely capitalism at its highest, imperialist stage that is jeopardizing the principal right of every man and of all mankind, the right to life. And it is precisely the real socialism that acts in all of these directions as the constructive, creative, liberating and life-giving force.

The revolutionary meaning and creative essence of the ideas of Marxism were already perceived and understood by the leading intellects of mankind in the last century. Today, the true significance of Marxism-Leninism and its real importance are revealed in the creative activity of socialist society. The idea of liberation of man is being transformed into revolutionary practice, thereby confirming the truth of the Marxist-Leninist teachings and uncovering ever new sources of deepening and perfecting this truth.

The revolutionary and creative essence of Marxism-Leninism and the constantly developing and perfecting practice of communist construction, in which this essence finds its living implementation, are the guarantee of everlasting scientific force of Marxism-Leninism and of its force of attraction for all who struggle for the great cause of liberation, free and all-sided development of man and for the truly human, communist society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works", Vol 1, p 422.
2. Ibid., p 406.
3. Ibid., p 578.
4. Ibid., p 593.
5. Ibid., Vol 4, p 447.
6. Ibid., Vol 1, p 242.
7. Ibid., Vol 4, p 162.
8. Ibid., Vol 23, p 23.
9. Ibid., Vol 42, p 94.

10. Ibid., Vol 13, p 23.
11. Ibid., Vol 42, p 94.
12. Ibid., Vol 1, p 264.
13. Ibid., Vol 3, p 19..
14. Ibid., Vol 4], p 123.
15. Ibid., Vol 26, third part, p 516.
16. Ibid., Vol 16, p 120.
17. Ibid., Vol 2, p 554.
18. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 23, p 1.
19. Marx and Engels, op. cit., Vol 1, pp 381, 379.
20. Ibid., Vol 39, p 352.
21. Ibid., Vol 23, p 22.
22. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 6, p 232.
23. Marx and Engels, op. cit., Vol 3, p 70.
24. Ibid., Vol 13, p 376.
25. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 38, pp 197-198.
26. Ibid., Vol 39, p 5.
27. Ibid., Vol 42, p 107.

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otnosheniya". 1983.

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'ECONOMIC WAR' AGAINST EAST SEEN UNWORKABLE, HARMFUL TO WEST

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83  
pp 30-40

[Article by V. Shemyatenkov: "'Economic Warfare' or Economic Competition?']

[Text] Mankind is currently experiencing a historical turning point and a period of a sharp break with outmoded social relations. The scientific-technical revolution and the rapid progress of the production forces, the unswerving strengthening of world socialism, the emergence in the arena of independent historical activity of hundreds of millions of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries, the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the objective need for states' coordination of action in the solution of global problems--all this is making the reorganization of international relations on democratic principles corresponding to the new conditions in the world irreversible. This process is not proceeding automatically but is realized in the acute struggle of the new and the old.

In the vanguard of the forces advocating the implementation of urgent changes are the CPSU and the communist and workers parties of other countries of the socialist community, which are armed with a scientific understanding of the regularities of world development and a clear program of struggle for peace, detente, disarmament and the security of the peoples.

The socialist countries are convinced, the Warsaw Pact Political Declaration (January 1983) states, "that however complex the situation in the world, possibilities for surmounting the dangerous stage in international relations exist. The present course of events should and can be halted and their development channeled into a direction corresponding to the peoples' cherished aspirations.

"The socialist countries, whose love of peace is determined by the very nature of their social system, are putting their entire international authority and political and economic potential on the scales of peace in the name of this."

I

Among the problems in respect of which there is currently a historical dispute between the forces of progress and reaction is the future of trade-economic



relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. Imperialist reaction is endeavoring to discredit and disparage the experience of the development of equal and mutually profitable cooperation accumulated in the 1960's-1970's. The arguments put forward by the opponents of detente are uncommonly groundless.

Thus they call East-West trade, as also detente as a whole, a "one-way street" profitable only to the socialist countries. But trade would never have been so extensively developed (in the period 1955-1980 CEMA's commodity turnover with the industrially developed capitalist states increased by a factor of almost 18) if it had not been of benefit to both sides. The concerted resistance of business circles maintaining relations with the socialist countries and the governments of West European states (irrespective of their political orientation) to the restrictive measures of the U.S. Administration testifies to this as clearly as can be.

The opponents of detente go on to assert that the purchase of licenses, machinery and equipment and knowhow in the West ensures for the socialist countries access to the latest technology which they themselves are allegedly incapable of developing. The authors of such assertions are deceiving themselves or deliberately deceiving others, glossing over the fact that the socialist community possesses tremendous scientific-technical potential. It was precisely under the conditions of economic and scientific-technical blockade that the Soviet Union, the leading country of the community, accomplished the historically unprecedented leap forward from backwardness to the pinnacles of social, scientific-technical and cultural progress. The scientists of the socialist countries retain the leading positions in many branches of modern science and are ensuring the confident progress of material production in their own states and the community as a whole.

The assertion that the credit granted the socialist countries is a kind of altruistic gesture and form of financing regimes hostile to the West is also aimed at the uninformed man in the street.

The use of credit for acquiring import commodities, particularly machinery and equipment, is a customary practice in international economic relations. The reciprocal extension of credit is widespread in commercial exchange between both capitalist and socialist states. In particular, the Soviet Union grants the other socialist and also developing states credit. The USSR unswervingly observes all financial obligations and is rightly considered a most reliable partner in international credit relations.

It is difficult to exaggerate the place and role of credit--commercial, bank, state and consumer--in the system of capitalist reproduction. Money under capitalism is to a considerable extent credit money. Without credit commodity exchange within certain capitalist countries and between them is simply impossible. These facts determine the West's interest in the extension of credit to the socialist countries. This interest is particularly apparent in the light of the chronic underloading of production capacity in the engineering and metal-working sectors and the tremendous overaccumulation of money capital.



Even more unconvincing is the proposition that large-scale machinery and equipment purchases in the West are testimony to the crisis of the socialist economy and that in supplying modern machinery and equipment the West is extending the hand of assistance to a hostile social system. The experience of the capitalist states themselves indicates that when a crisis erupts, there is a winding down of trade and a reduction in investments. The socialist countries' demand for machinery and equipment is testimony not to a crisis but the dynamic growth and rapid retooling of their industrial and agricultural production. If we are to speak of who is rescuing whom from a crisis, attention should be drawn primarily to the following fact: the socialist countries' purchases provide hundreds of thousands of jobs and help keep many small, medium-sized and even large-scale capitalist companies "afloat".

Many efforts are being made by aggressive circles to disrupt Soviet natural gas supplies to West European countries. They would have people believe that the Soviet Union is spending billions on the construction of the new Urengoy--Pomary--Uzhgorod export gas pipeline in order in some "critical situation" to have the opportunity of "turning off the tap". For what purpose, one wonders? There is no nor could there be any intelligible answer to this question because the idea of "turning off the tap" belongs to the sphere of cheap detective novels and not serious foreign economic policy.

## II

The manifest falsity of the propaganda arguments being advanced against the development of East-West trade is not fortuitous. Propaganda (despite all its large-scale and shrill nature) is not the main thing in the activity of the antidetente ideologists. Far more important are their unpublicized practical recommendations, which have been made the basis of the foreign economic strategy of the present U.S. Administration. To judge by many signs, these recommendations are tantamount to a declaration of "economic war" against the socialist states. The theoretical substantiation of the new line in relations with the socialist countries is a most important component of the ideology of present-day bourgeois conservatism.

Some "economic warfare" theorists support the preservation of relations with the socialist countries, but only in forms which would ensure the latter's one-sided dependence on the West. They compare East-West trade to a Trojan horse which could serve if not for a decisive assault on the stronghold of world socialism, then at least for constant political pressure and the extortion of unilateral concessions. A specific example of the realization of such a "scenario" is the economic blackmail in respect of socialist Poland.

It is essentially a question of waging "economic war" against the socialist countries within the detente framework, on the basis of the extensive development of trade-economic relations. While "observing the rules of the game," so to speak, in a short-term, practical plane, in the strategic plane imperialism is endeavoring to prevent the socialist countries occupying a position in world trade corresponding to their industrial and scientific-technical potential. Attempts are being made for this purpose to consolidate the "asymmetry" of their foreign trade, create technical dependence on the West and with the aid

of "cheap money" entice some of them into the "credit trap". It was to this aspect of matters that attention was drawn in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress, which spoke of the need "to pursue a balanced realistic policy in foreign economic relations."

It is naive to expect that the socialist countries will permit the conversion of their economic relations with the capitalist world into relations of inequality and dependence. For this reason the Trojan horse concept is logically leading to a winding down of trade-economic relations.

Another group of bourgeois theorists is appealing directly for a complete or selective halt to trade with the socialist countries within the framework of a uniform coordinated policy of the West or, at least, the NATO members. To judge by foreign press reports, it is a question of three interconnected directions of activity hostile to the socialist countries: a winding down of the latest machinery, equipment and technology exports, restrictions on the granting of credit and a renunciation of energy-carrier imports. At the same time the possibility of agricultural product exports from the NATO countries is envisaged.

For understandable reasons the specific plans of "economic warfare" are being kept secret, but a sufficiently clear idea of the contemplated "scenario" may be compiled from what has already filtered through to the press. The central place therein is assigned restrictions on exports of science-intensive products by both administrative and economic means. For currency-finance backup for this policy it is proposed tightening to the maximum the terms on which credit for foreign trade deals is extended in order to ultimately force the socialist countries to trade for cash. Furthermore, a set of measures is planned for the utmost restrictions on the socialist countries' exports. It is this goal (in addition to the directly commercial benefits in the struggle against the West European competitors) which is served by the present, at first sight, paradoxical policy of Washington, which on the one hand is fiercely resisting the expansion of export supplies of Soviet natural gas to West Europe and, on the other, insistently offering for import its grain.

Far-reaching hopes of a change in the policy and social system even in the socialist countries are connected with the "economic warfare" plans. "Without constant infusions of advanced technology from the West," a U.S. Defense Department report to Congress says, "the Soviet industrial base would be subjected to cumulative obsolescence, which would ultimately have a limiting impact on military industry also." The authors of the report go on to abandon themselves to reveries to the effect that "lacking access to the West's advanced technology, the Soviet leadership would be forced to choose between its military-industrial priorities and the preservation of a thoroughly controlled political system."\*

The proposed "scenarios" are not, of course, being constructed in a void. They are being drawn up with regard for the new stage of the scientific-technical

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\*THE ECONOMIST 22 May 1982, p 67.

revolution connected with the introduction of microprocessors, robot technology, bioengineering and so forth. Essentially this is a desperate attempt by reactionary circles to monopolize scientific-technical achievements to the extent to which they are under the control of the governments of the capitalist countries and, taking this as a basis, to attempt to repulse world socialism in the scientific-technical and economic spheres.

It is not fortuitous that the "economic warfare" concept has predominantly an "American registration". The champions of Western solidarity actually proceed from the fact that "competition on the part of the FRG and Japan in the world market could perfectly well be a more serious threat to the United States' economic prosperity than the Soviet Union's threat to American security."\* Their plans take account of the fact that West Europe and Japan are objectively more interested in the development of trade-economic relations with the socialist countries than the United States. A winding down of trade with the East would be a painful blow for them and, besides everything else, would strengthen American positions in the interimperialist rivalry.

The seriousness and danger of American reaction's policy of unleashing "economic war" against the socialist countries must not be underestimated. Counteracting this policy demands high vigilance and the stimulation of work on performance of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress in the sphere of an acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the integration of science with production and active foreign policy and propaganda struggle.

At the same time it is obvious that strategically the idea of "economic warfare" is doomed to fail. The basis of it is an absolutely perverted idea of the modern world, the correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism and the singularities of the scientific-technical revolution. Imperialist circles' hopes of controlling the socialist countries' policy and economy with the aid of a trade-finance "carrot and stick" are naive. The lessons of history, which, owing to their class limitedness, the "economic warfare" theorists are unable to understand and accept, are convincing testimony to this.

Also groundless is the arrogant "technological chauvinism" of conservative politicians and ideologists, who are close to their countries' military departments, but extremely far from science and production. A new stage of the scientific-technical revolution is opening up not only in the United States and Japan but in the socialist community states also. For this reason the attempts of a scientific-technical blockade will inevitably considerably damage those who aspire to make them, but will be unable to halt the confident tread of the socialist countries.

### III

The dangerous plans of the antidemocratic ideologists are encountering growing resistance in the capitalist countries themselves. Not only the communist

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\*THE NEW YORK TIMES 25 July 1982.

and workers parties, trade unions and progressive public organizations but also representatives of business circles, the intelligentsia and social democratic and bourgeois parties, including those in office, are becoming increasingly clearly aware of the hopelessness and danger of the plans of "economic warfare" being imposed by imperialism. They advocate the development of equal and mutually profitable cooperation between states with different social systems.

French President F. Mitterrand has declared his emphatic nonconsent to participation in any "economic war" against the socialist countries. In the course of recent visits of French ministers to Moscow new accords were arrived at on an expansion of reciprocal supplies and on French firms' participation in the implementation of a number of new large-scale projects on USSR territory, particularly the building of the Astrakhan Gas-Condensate Complex.

The new FRG Government has declared its intention of continuing the policy of stable cooperation with the socialist states and unswervingly observing the commitments it has assumed. A number of constructive proposals has been put forward by the government and business circles of Britain. The West European states unanimously rejected the American diktat in respect of participation in the construction of the Urengoy--Pomary--Uzhgorod gas pipeline.

In the course of the polemic against the plans of "economic warfare" the ideologists of a liberal-reformist persuasion are making a more sober evaluation of the USSR's economic potential and the development prospects of its economy. "The absolute size of the Soviet economy and its stable progress," an author of a report prepared under the aegis of the American Council for International Relations, for example, observes, "represent stubborn facts on which American policy in relation to the Soviet Union in the 1980's should be based. The tendency to discredit Soviet achievements in the economic sphere, dictated partially by ideological considerations, is doing an in-depth analysis of Soviet-American relations a poor service."\*

Sober-minded bourgeois politicians and ideologists are aware of the Soviet Union's strong technical-economic independence, which dooms to failure attempts at any blackmail. "Even if the West were in a position to impose extreme economic decisions on the Soviet Union," the authoritative American FOREIGN AFFAIRS points out, "the system itself would not collapse, the political structures would not disintegrate and the economy would not go bankrupt...."\*\*

Industrialists and bankers and scientists and government experts in countries with extensive trade-economic relations with the socialist world reasonably point to their states' interest in trade with the East for an increase in employment and the more efficient use of fixed capital, receipt of necessary products from the USSR and other socialist countries and so forth. The rupture of these relations would produce a cumulative negative effect far exceeding the magnitude of the direct losses.

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\*L.T. Caldwell, W. Diebold, "Soviet-American Relations in the 1980's. Super-Power Politics and East-West Trade," New York, 1981, p 40.

\*\*FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Winter 1982-1983, p 263.

Warning against a winding down of such relations, many specialists point out that as a result of an "economic war" the West would suffer more than the East. Thus according to the U.S. State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, in the event of the West's major industrial countries halving exports to the USSR in 1982 and 1983, the increase in the Soviet GNP would be slowed by only 0.2 percent or \$4.5 billion, while the GNP of the Western states would be reduced by almost \$30 billion.\* A rupture of financial relations with the socialist countries would have unpredictable consequences for the overstrained capitalist credit-monetary system.

It is known from past experience that bourgeois countries have never succeeded in creating a unified economic front against world socialism. The reason for this was not, of course, a lack of desire but the objective laws of capitalist competition and interimperialist rivalry. Under current conditions, when trade-economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries have acquired a more profound and diverse nature than ever before, the effect of this factor is becoming increasingly impressive. Even the antidetente ideologists are forced to reckon with the impossibility of the complete coordination of actions among the NATO countries in the sphere of foreign economic relations with the socialist states, not to mention a wider circle of capitalist countries. This alone predetermines the ineffectiveness of any economic "sanctions".

The most farsighted figures of a liberal-reformist bent realize that an "economic war" against the socialist countries is pointless and are exposing the danger of economic "sanctions" for the cause of peace and international security. "The attempt to disrupt or impede the economic development of another people," the well-known American historian and diplomat G. Kennan writes, "is impermissible in the policy of a democratic state in peacetime. It is a means for the preparation of a new war and not for preventing a war."\*\*

Despite the polar contrast of positions on specific issues of foreign economic strategy, it must not be forgotten that a social community binds conservatives and liberals. These are ideologists of one and the same class pursuing similar strategic goals, but differing as regards the ways and means of their realization. "The Yankee trader strategy" (that is, a strategy of the unimpeded development of trade--V.Sh.), the report already quoted notes, "is by no means politically naive. It takes account of the fact that trade has political consequences, but views them in a more distant perspective than the Trojan horse strategy."\*\*\* Liberals count on trade-economic relations with the West becoming a means of the gradual erosion of the planned system of the economy. They cherish untenable hopes that economic cooperation will contribute to the appearance of a political opposition in the socialist countries.

Liberal politicians are torn between commonsense, which dictates the need for the unimpeded development of trade-economic relations, and class hatred of socialism, which prompts them to harm it wherever possible. It is the class

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\*THE WASHINGTON POST 25 July 1982.

\*\*THE NEW YORK TIMES 11 October 1982.

\*\*\*L.T. Caldwell, W. Diebold, Op. cit., p 114.

essence of bourgeois supporters of detente which determines the inconsistency and shakiness of their positions and the illusory nature of their ideas concerning the political consequences of the development of trade with the socialist countries.

At the same time the fundamental political difference between the ideologists of imperialist reaction, who are endeavoring to torpedo detente, including East-West trade-economic relations, and the representatives of the realistic part of the bourgeoisie, which supports the development of mutually profitable cooperation with the socialist countries, is moving to the forefront under current conditions. The first line leads to the blind alley of military-political confrontation and increases the threat of war; the second contributes to the peaceful coexistence of the two systems and competition between them in forms which do not create a threat to world peace. The socialist countries are doing everything possible for the preservation and development of mutually acceptable accords with this part of the ruling classes of the capitalist states in the name of peace and detente.

#### IV

The material basis of the two different trends in imperialism's trade-economic relations with the socialist countries is the conflict between the objective laws of capitalist production and accumulation demanding the utmost development of foreign economic relations (according to Marx, "capitalist production altogether does not exist without foreign trade?") and the relative independence of the bourgeois state, which aspires to put foreign trade at the service of its political goals.

In its economic content and mechanism of implementation the concept of "economic war" against the socialist countries is an extreme expression of protectionism. At the same time it is qualitatively different from the conventional forms of national state regulation in the sphere of foreign economic relations. Traditional protectionism (defense of national industry and agriculture against foreign competition, pressure on one's rivals and so forth) has a certain rational content from the viewpoint of the economic interests of an individual country. Sanctions against the socialist states, however, which pursue purely ideological goals, as a rule, run counter to these interests. In the "economic war" idea the potential conflict between the spontaneous economic laws of capitalism and the policy of the bourgeois state assumes the nature of a real and very acute conflict.

The evolution of state-monopoly capitalism and the development of the competition of the two systems are leading to an exacerbation of this conflict. On the one hand the increase in the economic role of the bourgeois state and the growth of international trade, credit, scientific-technical and other relations

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\*K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 24, p 534.



with the development of the internationalization of production broaden the material possibilities of pursuing a protectionist policy and implementing a variety of sanctions. As experience shows, the imperialist states' attempts to avail themselves of these possibilities are indeed becoming more frequent. In particular, the mechanism of the United States' economic sanctions is "built into" the system of foreign policy and foreign economic legislation, and their use is customary, day-to-day practice. Nor are "automobile," "steel," "wine" and other trade wars a rarity in other parts of the capitalist world. NATO's collective measures against Argentina are a recent example of economic sanctions.

On the other hand, the same internationalization of production increases countries' interdependence and sharply increases the costs of state arbitrariness in the sphere of world economic relations. State-monopoly regulation, like the basis thereof--capitalist monopolies--grows, in Lenin's words, out of free competition, but does not remove it and exists above and alongside it, hereby engendering particularly acute contradictions, discord and conflicts.\*

The increased economic might of the state increases the efficacy of protectionist measures appreciably. But quantity changes to quality--precisely thanks to its direct efficacy, the protectionism of the biggest capitalist states has an extraordinarily destructive impact on world trade and ultimately on their own economies. This forces them to seek a way out of the interimperialist conflicts on the paths of compromise--bilateral and multilateral agreements, particularly within the GATT framework, regional customs unions and economic groupings.

Lenin's words to the effect that general economic world relations contain a force greater than the desire, will and decision of any hostile government have a particularly relevant ring in our day.\*\* The regularity noted by Lenin operates unevenly and is manifested differently in different spheres of the world economy.

In relations between capitalist, particularly industrially developed and developing, countries it is realized spontaneously. No forms of the development of international monopoly capital, capitalist integration and supranational regulation and international economic organizations can do away with protectionism--it is organically inherent in capitalism. The spontaneity of capitalist competition and the uneven distribution of forces between monopolies create the possibility of a temporary, partial success of the policy of economic diktat. For this reason interimperialist rivalry, including the use of extreme protectionist measures, will remain as long as capitalism exists.

A different situation takes shape in relations between socialist and capitalist countries. The regularity of the utmost development of foreign economic

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\*See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 27, p 386.

\*\*See Ibid., vol 44, pp 304-305.

relations in accordance with the objective requirements of the international division of labor is underpinned therein by the economic might, international solidarity and consistent policy of the socialist community states. This determines the political futility and economic inexpediency of a policy of "sanctions" and, consequently, its inevitable failure.

But bourgeois politicians and ideologists recognize the objective truth only post factum, by the "trial and error" method and via a series of acute crises, conflicts and defeats. Imperialism is learning the last such lesson now in connection with the U.S. Administration's unsuccessful attempts to force its partners to consent to a winding down of foreign economic relations with the socialist countries.

Predicting in all details the course of the struggle of the two trends in a determination of imperialism's foreign policy strategy is, of course, impossible. However, the basic contours of this strategy can be seen sufficiently clearly. As long as Washington's policy is directed by bellicose conservatives, West Europe's continued dependence on the United States will compel the former to agree to compromise. While firmly defending their positions on vitally important issues the West European governments consent to concessions to the United States, as a rule, on comparatively secondary issues by way of compensation. This has been the stable stereotype of conduct formulated within the NATO framework during the term of office in the United States of the last two administrations.

While maintaining the policy of the development of trade and other forms of cooperation with the socialist states the EEC countries have at the same time adopted a number of restrictive measures in respect of technology exports and imports of a number of commodities and credit terms for foreign trade with the socialist countries. All this leads to trade ultimately growing, albeit more slowly than objective conditions permit.

Each step of the U.S. Administration along the path of economic sabotage against the socialist countries runs counter to life's objective requirements and causes an exacerbation of interimperialist conflicts and new complications in the capitalist countries' internal political life. Such a policy can produce no other result and will inevitably lead to defeat.

## V

The socialist countries are pursuing a clear and consistent policy in questions of the development of trade-economic relations with the capitalist states. They regard these relations as an inalienable component of the entire system of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and see clearly their dialectical contradictoriness ensuing therefrom.

In the technical-economic plane they constitute an essential element of the intensifying international division of labor, while their further all-around development is an objective regularity caused by the growing internationalization of production. At the same time these relations are of a fundamentally different nature than the trade-economic relations within each of the opposed



systems of the economy. From the socio-historical viewpoint they represent a beachhead for the direct economic competition of the two systems, which is being conducted in specific forms of mutually profitable trade-economic relations and rivalry.

Socialism marks the highest stage in the development of international economic relations. It removes the limitations in the way of the development of social production inherent in capitalism, thanks to its more extensive internationalization on the basis of the planned system of the economy of socialism included. The victorious socialist revolution preserves and puts at the service of the new system "the gains of technology and culture achieved by big capitalism,"\* including the technical-economic forms of international commodity exchange, payments and credit worked out over centuries. These forms are suffused with new content and used both in the socialist countries' relations among themselves and with the capitalist world.

At the same time socialism engenders a whole number of fundamentally new forms of international economic cooperation. They are based on nationwide socialist ownership of the means of production, centralized planning, the leading and directing role of the communist and workers parties and state monopoly of foreign trade and other forms of foreign economic activity. Among these new forms are coordination of economic policy at highest party and state authority level, coordination of national economic plans, implementation of long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs and the development of direct socialist-type economic relations between ministries, associations and enterprises.

Naturally, these specifically socialist forms of international economic cooperation develop only within the framework of the community. They are inapplicable in relations with countries where private ownership of the means of production predominates, the connection between commodity producers is effected by means of market competition and production is subordinated to the interests of deriving capitalist profit. It is perfectly understandable that a whole number of specifically capitalist forms of international economic relations, particularly those in which monopoly domination is realized (the export of capital, the creation of transnational corporations, the international migration of fictional and spare monetary capital), also is unacceptable to the socialist countries.

The boundaries between the forms of foreign economic relations common to the world economy as a whole and specific for socialism and capitalism are not immobile. These forms are in a process of constant development, and their content is determined by the dynamics of social-production relations, scientific-technical progress and the confrontation of the two different systems.

The socialist states do not foist forms of foreign economic relations on their partners. However, the mere fact of the existence and rapid development of the new system of the economy cannot fail to change the historically evolved

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\*V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 310.

type of these relations and, consequently, the mechanism of their realization within the framework of the world economy. In relations with the capitalist and developing countries socialism asserts the principles of equality and mutual benefit in contrast with the oppression and exploitation and division of the world into spheres of influence typical of capitalism.

As foreign economic relations between socialist and capitalist states develop and deepen, individual elements of plan conformity are established in them to the extent that the capitalist concerns and states can "digest" them. The long-term intergovernmental agreements and programs of the development of the USSR's economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation with Finland, Austria, the FRG, France, Italy, the United States and Great Britain which were concluded in the 1970's and the large-scale projects in the chemical, metallurgical, automotive, oil, gas, pulp and paper and other sectors of industry realized on the basis of these agreements may serve as an example.

The socialist countries are attentively studying the practice of foreign economic relations of the capitalist countries. The formation of progressive elements of technology, money-goods circulation and management which could be used in trade-economic relations between the socialist countries and their capitalist partners and, in certain cases, within the socialist economy also continues here together with the phenomena of putrescence and the increased domination of the monopolies.

At the same time the socialist countries, constituting part of the world economy, are forced to reckon with the spontaneity of the capitalist market, which is alien to them. In relations both with the capitalist countries and among themselves they construct price-forming on the basis of world prices reflecting not only the international value of the commodities but also the specific singularities of capitalist reproduction. An essential condition of trade and other forms of the foreign economic activity of the socialist states is consideration of the fluctuations of market conditions and the singularities of capitalist competition.

The mutual influence of socialism and capitalism in the process of trade-economic relations has nothing in common with the feeble "convergence" concept. This is a live process of the coexistence and struggle of two opposite systems of the economy.

Soviet foreign economic policy is aimed at the utmost strengthening of the positions of socialism in the economic competition of the two systems. It proceeds from the fact that the planned system of the economy makes it possible to make rational use of cooperation with states of the opposite system in the interests of an acceleration of the growth rate and an increase in efficiency and achieve the optimum combination of individual forms and sectorial and geographic directions of foreign economic relations. This also makes it possible to neutralize the unfavorable and make maximum use of the positive trends of the world market and constantly strengthen the socialist countries' positions in the system of the world economy.

The social nature of the foreign economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries is also reflected in their material structure. If the governments of the United States and other developed capitalist states were consistently guided in their policy by the principles of peaceful coexistence, East-West economic relations could in principle develop on the basis of growing interdependence and the in-depth division of labor in all spheres of material production. But inasmuch as an aspiration to hegemony and aggression, economic included, is organically inherent in imperialism, the socialist community is forced to develop trade with the West in the forms and limits which ensure the preservation of its technical-economic independence. The example of the unceremonious interference in the affairs of sovereign Poland and the attempts to organize "economic warfare" against the Soviet Union confirm again and again the soundness of a circumspect, well-considered approach to the development of economic relations with capitalist partners.

None of this, of course, alters the general policy of the development of mutually profitable economic and scientific-technical cooperation. The socialist states, the Warsaw Pact Political Declaration emphasizes, support "the utmost expansion of business cooperation in the trade, industrial, agricultural and scientific-technical spheres without any discrimination and confidence-building measures in economic relations. A truly boundless field for interaction on the basis of equality and mutual benefit opens up here."

The foreign policy course of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries appears to the peoples of the Earth as the embodiment of wisdom and high responsibility for the fate of mankind. To the insane idea of brinkmanship is counterposed the ideal of lasting peace; to an unchecked arms race, which increases the threat of thermonuclear conflict, specific and realistic proposals on limiting arms and disarmament; to military-political confrontation detente and the quest for mutually acceptable accords; and to unscrupulous "psychological warfare" the honest contrasting of ideas and information.

Instead of a devastating and senseless "economic war," the socialist countries propose to the West extensive economic cooperation. The competing systems of the economy are called on to show their potential in productive labor, R&D, the organization of production and the ability to trade and not in the "art" of customs tariffs and administrative regulation. History provides no other alternative, condemning the most resourceful "economic war" concepts to failure.

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## NONALIGNED STATES' MOVE INTO ACTIVE ANTI-IMPERIALISM CHRONICLED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83  
pp 41-50

[Article by Ya. Etinger: "Important Factor of Peace and International Security"]

[Excerpt] The nonaligned movement was conceived in the tempestuous period of postwar history, under the conditions of the fundamental change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, when in the persistent struggle against imperialism and colonial oppression many Asian and African countries gained state independence and embarked on the path of independent development. In the same period the United States and other Western powers made attempts to sow discord among the emergent states, enmesh them in a system of military blocs and counterpose the countries incorporated in such groupings to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Initially nonalignment was closely connected with the "positive neutrality" slogan, which presupposed, first, a renunciation of participation in military-political blocs and noninterference in global international conflicts at a "high level" and, second, a constructive contribution to the solution of urgent world problems. The combination of these tasks straightaway conditioned a certain complexity and, sometimes, contradictoriness of the movement. But it was in that period that in terms of its objective content the nonaligned movement assumed a strikingly expressed anti-imperialist character.

In fact, the refusal to be dragged into military blocs inevitably presupposed confrontation with the system which was imposing these blocs, that is, with imperialism--after all, the USSR and the other socialist countries never endeavored to enlist the emergent states in their alliances. Opposing participation in the aggressive military blocs and the deployment of foreign bases and armed forces of the imperialist powers on their territory, the participants in the nonaligned movement essentially said "no" to the United States and its allies, which were attempting to impose participation in the West's military-political groupings on the emergent countries.

The nonalignment concept meant the assertion of principles of a new, independent policy of countries which were entering the broad international arena for the first time. Abiding by these principles, the emergent states frustrated imperialism's attempts to entangle Asia and Africa by a chain of military-political blocs. The failure of SEATO, the collapse of the Baghdad Pact and

its successor--CENTO--the failure of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," the failure of the attempts to create a "Middle East Command" and so forth--all this testified to the strength of the resistance of peoples which had thrown off the colonial fetters to those who were endeavoring to subordinate the young states to their control.

The active anti-imperialist, peace-loving policy of the USSR and the other socialist states contributed to a decisive extent to the creation of favorable conditions for the practical realization of the principles of nonalignment. The mere fact of the proclamation of a policy of nonalignment and the refusal to join the imperialist military blocs was, on the other hand, a considerable contribution to the cause of peace and international security since it made it more difficult for the United States and the other Western powers to pursue a policy of using the emergent countries in their military-strategic plans. A founder of the nonaligned movement, first premier of independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, declared on 7 September 1946: "We will participate actively in international conferences, pursuing our own policy as a free country and not as a satellite of another country. We hope to establish close and direct contacts with other countries and to cooperate with them in strengthening universal peace and freedom."\*

The leaders of the young states understood full well that they would only be able to exert any pronounced influence on the course of events in the international arena if they acted together, uniting their efforts in the foreign policy sphere. This policy was reflected for the first time at the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in April 1955. The struggle against colonialism, the aspiration to peace and international security, joint interest in the strengthening of political independence and the achievement of economic independence and the similar nature of socioeconomic problems and foreign policy tasks facilitated the formulation of the emergent countries' collective approach to the main questions of international life.

The Bandung Conference was held under the flag of the struggle for peace and freedom, against colonialism and for the independence and equality of the peoples. The "spirit of Bandung," which was reflected in the "Declaration on Promoting World Peace and Cooperation" adopted by the conference, had a tremendous impact on the development of the national liberation movement in subsequent years. The "10 principles of Bandung," including those such as respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, non-interference in other states' internal affairs, recognition of the equality of all races and nations, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, the development of cooperation and renunciation of the spurring of tension and pressure on other countries, exerted a tremendous influence on the formulation of the basic principles of the nonaligned movement. Many leaders of Asian and African states repeatedly noted at different times that without Bandung there would not have been in 1961 in Belgrade the First Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries, which officially inaugurated the nonaligned movement. It is perfectly natural that a number of documents of the nonaligned

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\* Jawaharlal Nehru, "India's Foreign Policy. Selected Speeches and Statements. 1946-1964," Moscow, 1965, pp 30-31.

movement contains references to the Bandung Conference. According to J. Nehru, the Bandung Conference "marked the emergence in the political arena in international affairs of over half of the world's population."\* Its principles, which were supported by world socialism, immediately came to be implemented actively by many Asian and African states. The autobiographical literature of their heads and leaders is striking testimony to this. These principles became a part of the statutes of many regional organizations of the emergent countries (the OAU, for example) and today enable the movement to draw a clear line between its friends and enemies both on general and on specific issues.\*\*

The nonaligned countries' participation in international life became more pronounced at the start of the 1970's, when positive changes were discerned in the world situation and a period of the assertion in interstate relations of the principles of detente came to replace the cold war. Whereas in the cold war period the nonaligned movement was basically of a defensive nature with respect to imperialism, it subsequently acquired an increasingly active, aggressive nature. An original aspect of the movement--neutrality in the struggle of the two systems in the international arena--gradually receded to a secondary position. The Third Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-aligned Countries, which was held in Lusaka in September 1970, put an end to the certain passiveness in the activity of the nonaligned movement and formulated its long-term strategic goals. This was also reflected in the very definition of the essence of nonalignment: the basic goals of nonalignment are the aspiration to international peace and peaceful coexistence; the strengthening of the nonaligned countries' role in the United Nations in order that the latter become a more effective obstacle in the way of all forms of aggressive actions and threats of force or the use thereof against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country and the struggle against colonialism and racism; the solution of disputes by peaceful means; a halt to the arms race; and resistance to military alliances and the creation of foreign military bases on other states' territory.

As nonalignment strengthened and its numerical composition increased, the movement's role as a factor of peace and international security became increasingly significant. This coincided in time with the successes of detente policy and then with the difficulties which came to light on the paths of reducing international tension. And if the nonaligned movement welcomed the detente process, making to it as big a contribution as possible, subsequently it endeavored in every way possible to prevent man's slide toward a cold war situation.

\* See Ya.Ya. Etinger, "Interstate Organizations of Asian and African Countries," Moscow, 1976, p 17.

\*\* See J. Nehru, "Before and After Independence," New Delhi, 1949; S. Bandaranaike, "Toward a New Era," Colombo, 1961; "The International Policy of the Democratic Party of Guinea," Edinburgh, 1960; K. Kaunda, Foreword, "Nonalignment," London, 1966; Y.H. Yensen, "Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment," London, 1961; C.V. Crabb, "Elephants and the Grass. A Study of Nonalignment," New York, 1965.



The documents of the First Conference in Belgrade in 1961 even emphasized that "at the present time no state and no government may absolve itself of responsibility for peace throughout the world." Declaring that war between peoples is "not only an anachronism but also a crime against mankind," the nonaligned countries rejected the assertion of the inevitability of war and emphasized that in the present situation "the principles of peaceful coexistence are the sole alternative to cold war and a possible general nuclear catastrophe." The 1961 declaration also pointed directly to the main source of the danger to the cause of peace: "lasting peace may be achieved only if... colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism in all their manifestations are done away with."\*

Realization of the inseparable connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle against imperialist policy was a fundamental principle of the movement. It was reflected repeatedly in the movement's documents throughout the two subsequent decades. Thus the draft resolution of the nonaligned countries of 24 January 1978, which was submitted to the UN General Assembly for examination, pointed out that "disarmament has become the most urgent international goal... and general and complete disarmament under effective international supervision remains the end goal of the international community.... There is a direct connection between disarmament and international peace and security."\*\* Such a formulation of the issue is within the channel of the USSR's efforts aimed at the achievement of complete and general disarmament.

The nonaligned movement made an appreciable contribution to the convening and the work of the General Assembly Special Disarmament Session. It established active relations with the international peace movement. The movement's position on questions of the struggle for peace and international security was confirmed by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries in Havana in August 1979. In its political declaration the conference again emphasized that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be the cornerstone of international relations. The conferees welcomed the efforts of the European countries made in the cause of strengthening and expanding interstate relations and cooperation on the basis of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They paid great attention to questions of the struggle for the prevention of total nuclear war, the banning of atomic weapons, disarmament and a reduction in military budgets. The conference approved the Soviet-American SALT II Treaty.

Also indicative in this respect is the communique of the final jubilee session of nonaligned countries' foreign ministers in New Delhi in February 1981, where serious concern was expressed at the deterioration in the international climate on the threshold of the 1980's, and the present foreign policy course of the United States was cited directly as a cause of this.

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\* "The Nonaligned Movement in Documents and Material," Moscow, 1979, pp 54-55, 53.

\*\* UN Document a-ac 187/55 ADD I.



### III

Currently, when imperialism, primarily American, is provoking an unprecedented complication of the situation in the world and resorting, inter alia, to the language of threats in respect of the developing countries, the nonaligned movement is acquiring even more significance as a factor of peace and international security. In an interview given to a correspondent of the Bulgarian Press Agency Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi observed that "at a time when nuclear and other types of weapon could wipe everything from the face of the Earth, particular significance is attached to the task of avoiding confrontation." Repudiating the forces which would like to force the nonaligned movement to abandon active struggle for disarmament and its anti-imperialist thrust, I. Gandhi emphasized with all certainty that "nonalignment does not mean neutrality and inaction in the international arena."

Mention has to be made of the appreciable role played by the nonaligned countries at the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. As is known, Yugoslavia and Cyprus, which have operated in conjunction with such European countries as Austria, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Lichtenstein and San Marino, are represented at this meeting. Delegations of neutral and nonaligned states prepared a draft summary document of the meeting, which emphasized the endeavor to find a basis for a positive outcome of the Madrid forum.

Perfectly logical is the fact that the movement endeavors to ensure for the emergent countries equal participation in the formulation and implementation of all the most important international decisions and the reorganization of the activity of world organizations. At the same time efforts are also being made to change a number of conceptual fundamentals of international law for the purpose of consideration of the particular interests of the developing states, including granting them political and trade-economic privileges promoting development.

The struggle for a new international legal order as a component of economic decolonization and the development and introduction in international practice of a "right to development" ensuing from the new international economic order program and also acting as a means of strengthening the developing countries' national sovereignty over their natural resources and economic activity is already a part of history. Under current conditions the emergent states' struggle for economic independence is becoming a principal direction of their confrontation with imperialism.

Despite the complex processes occurring in the movement itself and the existence of a certain differentiation, the majority of countries of the movement holds firmly to positions of defense of their sovereign national rights and advocates general and complete disarmament, the dissolution of military-political blocs, the liquidation of foreign military bases, conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, the declaration of Africa and Southeast Asia as nuclear-free zones, an all-embracing settlement of the Near East conflict on a just and realistic basis, guaranteed security in the Persian Gulf zone and a solution of the Namibia problem.

The nonaligned movement has repeatedly expressed its solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine and observed that the Palestinian problem is the nucleus of the Near East conflict. The movement has declared emphatically at many fora that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the region is impossible without respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to the creation of their own independent state, and expressed recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The participants in the movement demand the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab land, including the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem.

The nonaligned countries condemned the barbaric acts of the Israeli military against the Lebanese and Palestinian people in the summer-fall of last year, which were possible only thanks to the United States' position of connivance in respect of the expansionist appetites of Israel's Zionist leadership. These countries rightly evaluate U.S. policy in the Near East, its endeavor to achieve a "settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict within a modified Camp David "formula" framework, the Pentagon's decision to create a "Central Command" in whose operational zone 19 of the movement's members are arbitrarily included, its interventionist plans in respect of the Persian Gulf and Indian and Pacific oceans, the strengthening of its military-political alliance with racist South Africa and the intrigues against Cuba and Nicaragua as manifestations of Washington's imperial ambitions, which are dangerous to the cause of peace and entail a threat to the peoples not only of the developing countries but other parts of the world also.

Many examples could be cited of the positive international steps of the non-aligned states, against the imperialist policy of threats and pressure and in defense of the cause of peace, international security, freedom and national independence. Thus in January 1983 a special session of the nonaligned countries' Coordination Bureau was held in the capital of revolutionary Nicaragua--Managua--whose decisions attracted the attention of broad circles of the world public. The session's summary document emphasized that the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, apartheid, Zionism, racism and all forms of outside pressure and for complete respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and the nonuse of force is the fundamental essence of the non-aligned movement. The participants in the session paid particular attention to the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean. The nonaligned countries demanded an immediate and unconditional halt to the economic blockade of Cuba and other forms of the United States' hostile activity against this country, emphatically condemned Washington's aggressive policy in respect of Nicaragua, favored a settlement of the El Salvador crisis with the participation of all representative political forces and advocated Latin America being made a nuclear-free zone.

The special session of the Coordination Bureau in Managua was an important event on the threshold of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries in Delhi in March 1983.

#### IV

Of course, the nonaligned movement, which unites such a large number of states differing in socioeconomic and political respects, encounters contradictions and difficulties in its own ranks. It has been forced in recent years to pay ever increasing attention to the prevention and settlement of conflicts, armed included, between the movement's participants themselves. Territorial-border disputes inherited from the colonial era are at the basis of many of these conflicts.

The First Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries in Belgrade even discussed the question of the boundaries between developing countries. Despite a certain contradictoriness of the position occupied by the conferees, their declaration said that they, "fully respecting the territorial integrity of all states, will oppose all annexationist goals by all means."\* The summary document of the Second Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries, which was held in Cairo (October 1964) declared: "States should refrain from any use of threats or force directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of other states; any situation which has arisen as a result of the threat or use of force should not be recognized, and, in particular, the borders established between states must be inviolable." This same declaration says that "border disputes should be settled peacefully."\*\* This proposition was confirmed at subsequent conferences of heads of state and government of nonaligned countries.

The ruling circles of the Western powers, primarily the present U.S. Administration, are endeavoring to emasculate the progressive anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist content of nonalignment policy. An entire cascade of tactical-ideological methods is being rained down on the nonaligned countries designed to intimidate the young states with the "Soviet threat," weaken the nonaligned movement's relations with its loyal friends--the USSR and the other socialist states--and draw the young states into the orbit of imperialism's military-political and ideological influence. It is a question, in particular, of the concept of the "two superpowers' equal responsibility" for the deterioration in the international situation, which is designed to conceal the true cause of the situation in the world, which has been exacerbated in recent years--the hegemonist claims of the United States. Imperialist circles are also serving up in every possible way the notorious concept of the "equidistance" of the nonaligned movement from the two sociopolitical systems. But is it really possible to be "equidistant" from on the one hand those who are waging an uncompromising, consistent struggle against the neocolonialist aspirations of imperialism, championing the right of the peoples of the emergent countries to development and social progress under the conditions of independence and freedom and rendering them all-around assistance in warding off the attacks of international reaction and, on the other, from those who are endeavoring to keep the developing world under the thumb of dependence and the bondage of debt and involve it in the Pentagon's militarist strategy.

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\* "The Nonaligned Movement in Documents and Material," p 57.

\*\* Ibid., p. 80.

Is it not clear that with such "concepts" imperialism is pursuing the goal of disorienting the nonaligned movement and ultimately pushing many developing countries onto the path of support for the United States' present global anti-Soviet policy.

On the eve of the New Delhi conference Western propaganda persistently exaggerated the so-called Afghan and Kampuchean issues. It was an attempt to impose on the present forum of nonalignment an unconstructive polemic aimed at distracting its participants from really urgent problems.

This is happening at a time when in the situation which has evolved in connection with Afghanistan promising features have appeared: the interested parties have through the mediation of a special representative of the UN secretary general entered into contact and are conducting negotiations which could be crowned with success if there is an end to the attempts, wherever they originate, to frustrate the possibility of a political settlement of the problems which have arisen in connection with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which has been discerned.

As far as the question of who should represent Kampuchea in the nonaligned movement is concerned, is it not clear that the sole legitimate representative of the people of this country is the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, whose peace-loving foreign policy fully corresponds to the goals and principles of nonalignment. It is precisely to deprive the opponents of peace and good-neighborliness in Southeast Asia of the possibility of distracting the conference from a discussion of the urgent problems currently disturbing the nonaligned states that the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is not confronting the present forum with the question of its representation, which testifies to the political farsightedness of the leadership of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The attempts on this pretext or the other to ensure the presence in New Delhi of Sihanouk who at best represents himself and only himself, appear clumsy in the light of this. In the movement's entire 20-year-plus history there has never been an instance of "private persons" attending a conference of heads of state and government of nonaligned countries as delegates.

The entire complexity of the settlement of conflict situations in the developing world by the forces of the nonaligned countries has been manifested in the war between Iraq and Iran, which has become a serious test for the movement. The next forum of nonaligned countries, which it was originally planned to convene in Baghdad in September 1982, was not held within the specific scheduled time owing to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The conflict situations are seriously complicating the development of political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations among the emergent countries, exerting a destabilizing influence on the young states' political development, are a source of instability in this part of the developing world or the other and are being reflected negatively in the general international situation. Exceptional importance is attached under these conditions to the search for a peaceful settlement of conflict situations from the viewpoint of the interests both of the nonaligned movement itself and the continuation of detente policy and its conversion into a continuous and all-around process.

It is obvious that in the modern world success in realization of the movement's goals ultimately depends on its fidelity to its initial fundamental principles and the degree of cooperation with all progressive forces, primarily with world socialism. This is confirmed by the entire 20-year-plus history of the movement.

The time when the imperialists declared nonalignment "amoral" has passed. Now, while paying lipservice to the policy of nonalignment, international reaction is in practice endeavoring to split the movement and tear it away from its allies in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Life itself leaves no room for "equidistance" from socialism and capitalism. The results of the last, 37th, session of the UN General Assembly, at which the overwhelming majority of nonaligned countries supported the important political initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union aimed at preventing nuclear war and strengthening the cause of peace, also testify to this. Among these are the proposal on an immediate halt to and the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, a draft resolution appealing for the nondeployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of states where they do not exist presently and the proposal contained in an initiative of the USSR on multiplying efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war and ensure the safe development of nuclear power. In accordance with a draft jointly developed by the socialist and nonaligned countries, the session adopted a resolution on the stimulation of negotiations for the formulation of an international agreement on preventing the spread of the arms race to space. As a whole, approximately 50 resolutions aimed at imparting new impetus to the efforts on limiting the arms race and on disarmament were approved by the General Assembly 37th Session thanks to the joint efforts of the socialist and nonaligned states.

Thus on the main questions of ensuring peace and international security the majority of nonaligned countries spoke at the last UN General Assembly session from the same positions as the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The USSR has always supported acts of the nonaligned movement aimed at strengthening peace and international security. The readiness of any country to pursue a policy of neutrality and nonalignment has encountered complete understanding in our country. We will give just one example related to recent times. A Soviet Government memorandum was issued on 10 October 1981 on the Soviet Union's recognition of and respect and support for the status of the Republic of Malta as a neutral state pursuing a policy of nonalignment.

The CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress observed that the strength of the nonaligned movement lies "in its thrust against imperialism and colonialism and against war and aggression. We are sure that the key to a further increase in the role of the nonaligned movement in world politics--and we would welcome this--lies in its fidelity to its fundamental principles." The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have declared repeatedly that the development of friendship and cooperation with the nonaligned states, which constitute an important element of the common front of the struggle of the peoples for peace and freedom, is based on a high-minded and stable foundation. The USSR's relations with the emergent countries incorporates as a most

important component respect for the status of nonalignment chosen by the majority of Asian, African and Latin American states and renunciation of their enlistment in military-political blocs. Confirming its positive, respectful approach to the status of nonalignment, the Soviet Union has proposed that the leading bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact make a declaration on the nonextension of these alliances' effective spheres to the developing countries. "The danger of the growth of local conflicts into armed confrontation on a world scale is connected to a large extent with attempts at the direct or indirect involvement of states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania in military-political alliances and the extension to them of blocs' effective spheres," the Warsaw Pact Political Declaration adopted in Prague on 5 January 1983 emphasizes. The declaration observes, inter alia, that "a growing contribution to removing and preventing crisis situations is being made by the nonaligned movement, whose practical steps in this direction deserve recognition and support on the part of all states."

On the eve of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi the planet's progressive forces express confidence that this important international forum will contribute to an increase in the nonaligned movement's role in the struggle for peace and international security and will be a considerable contribution to the noble cause of a recuperation of the political climate in the world in the interests of all mankind.

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## CAMPAIGN FOR 'NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER' DESCRIBED

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[Article by V. Sivtsev and V. Seidov: "Information Imperialism and the Struggle for a New International Information Order"]

[Excerpt]

### III

The struggle for a new international information order began in the first half of the 1970's. It was developed at different international fora, meetings and seminars, at which the order which has taken shape in the sphere of the dissemination of international information came to be sharply criticized increasingly often.

The Final Act of the All-European Conference in Helsinki, which was signed in 1975, paid great attention to measures contributing to increased trust between states and the development of principles and propositions with respect to the expansion of cooperation in the information sphere. The conclusion of interstate agreements and agreements between press agencies, publishing houses, radio and television organizations, journalists' organizations and so forth designed to serve the cause of the strengthening of peace and all-around cooperation and mutual understanding between peoples was envisaged, inter alia.

At the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting held 4-5 January 1983 in Prague its participants noted the need for consistent observance of the "principles and propositions of the Helsinki Final Act concerning cooperation in the sphere of information in the interests of strengthening peace and mutual understanding between peoples" and also the topicality of a UNESCO declaration on these questions adopted in 1978. It emphatically condemned "the use of such a powerful instrument of influence on people's minds and the shaping of public opinion as the press, radio and television for spreading tendentious and plainly slanderous reports portraying the situation in this country or the other and its policy in a distorted light and sowing estrangement and hostility."

A significant contribution to the formulation and subsequent development of the question has been made by both the socialist and nonaligned countries. Beginning in 1973, the latter have put forward a whole number of specific proposals on this problem. "A new international order in the sphere of mass information,"



the declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned Countries, which was held in 1976 in Colombo, observed, "is just as important as a new international economic order."

A pool of press agencies of the nonaligned countries, which now incorporates 87 states, was founded in 1975. Despite the fact that the pool's possibilities for transmitting information are not that great as yet (40,000 words a day), it is actively opposing in individual instances the Western agencies which would like to retain a monopoly position for themselves. On the pool's initiative new press agencies and information-dissemination centers were established in certain nonaligned countries.

The Sixth Conference of Nonaligned Countries (Havana, 1979) outlined further tasks in the sphere of the dissemination of information and the organization of cooperation between press agencies and in terms of the exchange of newspapers, journals and books and the expansion of contacts in the sphere of radio broadcasting, television and the cinema.

The question of the creation of a new international information order was discussed at the UNESCO General Conference 19th Session, which was held in 1976 in Nairobi. Several plans for the reorganization of the existing information order were submitted. But the session was unable to adopt effective decisions owing to the resistance of the Western countries, which blocked the introduction of progressive rules and principles of disseminating information. It merely instructed the UNESCO Secretariat to make "an even more in-depth study of the role, goals and conditions of communications."

In 1977 UNESCO Director General M. M'Bow made the decision to form an international commission consisting of 16 persons to study various problems of information and communications headed by Sean MacBride, well-known political figure and former Irish foreign minister.\* The commission was set the following tasks:

study of the existing situation in the field of communications and information and ascertainment of the problems requiring immediate action at national level and also a concerted common approach internationally;

paying particular attention to questions related to a free and balanced flow of information and also the needs of the developing countries;

with regard for the prospect of the establishment of a new international economic order taking steps for the speediest establishment of a "new international order in the information sphere"; and

determining the part which might be played by the communications media in public opinion's recognition of the main problems confronting mankind and assistance in their gradual solution.

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\* The commission included representatives of the United States, France, Japan, Canada, Holland, the USSR, Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia, Egypt, Nigeria, Tunisia, Zaire, Colombia and Chile.

The MacBride Commission embarked on the work in December 1977 and completed it in November 1979. It submitted its interim report to the UNESCO General Conference in October 1978. The Western powers attempted to remove from it wording that was unfavorable to them and to incorporate propositions corresponding to their political and ideological concepts. They were particularly irritated by the report's conclusions and proposals aimed at removing the Western agencies' monopoly in the possession of communications media and their distribution of flows of information. They made persistent efforts to foist on the commission's members the "free flow of information" principles current in the West and under cover thereof to decline the developing countries' just demands for an eradication of information imperialism and the creation of a new international information order. The capitalist powers, in particular, blocked proposals which provided for the formulation of an international code of ethical rules for journalists; limitation of the activity of the transnational corporations in the collection and exchange of information; removal of the harmful influence of advertising; and the establishment of a permanent group of observers under the aegis of UNESCO to observe the development of information media internationally and contribute to this process.

Following lengthy and stormy sessions, the representatives of the Western countries were forced to remove certain of their demands and content themselves with the amendments which they had managed to insert in the draft of the interim report. It should be noted, however, that some of the amendments essentially changed the meaning and weakened the keenness of the recommendations which had been drawn up. The original version of the final part of the report, "Democratization of the Dissemination of Information," pointed out, for example: "Countries in which the mass information media are mainly or fully in the hands of the private sector should develop effective legislative or administrative measures aimed at a) limiting the process of concentration and monopolization; and b) limiting the activity of multinational corporations, obliging them to fulfill certain conditions and requirements." In the final wording, however, this part of the report reads thus: "Effective legal measures should be aimed at a) limiting the process of concentration and monopolization; and b) determining the effective sphere of transnational corporations in order that they correspond to the specific criteria and conditions determined by national legislation and policy in the development sphere."

Having taken note of the MacBride Commission's interim report, the General Conference approved a resolution which obliged the UNESCO director general "to request that the members of the international commission studying communications problems direct their efforts in preparing the final report toward the analysis and formulation of specific practical measures leading to the establishment of a fairer and more effective international order in the information sphere."

Having completed work on the report in November 1979, the commission presented its findings and proposals to the UNESCO General Conference 21st Session, which was held from 23 through 28 October 1980 in Belgrade and which adopted a special resolution on this question. The latter observed that "the report and recommendations are a valuable contribution to the continued study, analysis and investigation of the problems of information and communications in the UNESCO Secretariat, member states and professional associations." The resolution

called on the UNESCO members to study the findings and proposals of the MacBride Commission and send their considerations to the organization's director general.

The resolution instructed the UNESCO director general to take account of the commission's recommendations in implementing programs for 1981-1985 and also to continue the development of the issues in respect of which complete data is currently lacking. The international commission, in particular, recommended that fundamental research be performed in the sphere of the collection and supply of information; and data banks and radiogram banks for the purpose of the exchange of information collected with the aid of remote pickups and also a study of the social, economic and cultural consequences of advertising, including the problem of the creation of an international advertising code, "the basis of which would be the preservation of cultural distinctiveness and the protection of moral values."

#### IV

The establishment of a new international information order is encountering the stubborn resistance of the biggest capitalist powers and their information agencies. On the one hand the West, attempting to retain for itself privileges and a monopoly in the information sphere, is frustrating the adoption of decisions and rules of law limiting the activity of the capitalist agencies and, on the other, endeavoring to enshrine the scientific-technical dependence of the developing countries. True, the emergent countries are being offered equipment and technology--and sometimes on very favorable terms. But this is being done for the purpose of tying the developing countries to the Western communications media, the transnational corporations producing this technology and the powerful press agencies dominating the capitalist information market. "If you agree," Reuter General Director J. Long declared, addressing the developing countries, "that the way toward a world communications system lies through the development of technology, you must also agree to a certain practical dependence on the countries which have created this technology and assimilated it." Recalling that the United States occupies the leading position in this sphere, he observed that the latter "could grant the world information, a telecommunications system and an abundance of entertainment material...."

Former UPI Director R. Tatarian put forward the idea of the creation of a "multinational information pool," which would include representatives of both the developing and capitalist countries. According to his idea, the pool's directorate should be made up of 12 persons representing equally the North (United States, Britain, the FRG, France, Japan and Sweden) and the South (Egypt, Mexico, India, Nigeria, Kenya and the Philippines).

The so-called International Committee in Defense of Press Freedom drew up a special program of the training of journalist personnel for the developing countries, the organization of workshops, the holding of seminars and the dispatch of consultants. This program is generously financed mainly from contributions from the West's leading press agencies. The committee's leaders claim that it has almost 1,000 volunteers--information organ employees--"ready to go to the developing countries and apply their capabilities there." What these "volunteers" represent and how they pursue their goals the emergent countries have

already been able to learn in the example of the not unknown Peace Corps, which operates in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

At the end of May 1980 an International Federation of Newspaper Publishers congress was held in Tel Aviv in which 460 delegations from 27 countries participated. At this congress A. Newhart, president of the American Gannett Corporation, on behalf of American newspaper publishers, condemned in sharp terms the "MacBride Report," which, he said, "runs counter to the concept of freedom of the press."

On the initiative of the International Committee in Defense of Freedom of the Press and the American Tufts University a meeting was held in May 1981 in the resort spot of Talloires in the French Alps of 60 leaders of international agencies, radio broadcasting companies and press organs of 20 countries. Among the participants were such organizations as the Committee for Strengthening the Freedom of the World Press, which has its headquarters in Washington, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, the Inter-American Press Institute, the American Association of Newspaper Publishers, the North American Federation of Radio Broadcasting Companies, the Asia-Pacific Institute of the Development of Radio Broadcasting, the AP, UPI, Reuter and France-Presse agencies and representatives of a number of other mass information organs.

The absence from the meeting of representatives of the International Journalists Federation and many national agencies which support the creation of a new international information order or are sympathetic toward this idea was noticeable.

The participants in the meeting approved a 10-point declaration, which came to be called the Talloires Declaration. It expresses a resolve "to oppose any infringement of the free flow of information." "We believe," the declaration says, "that the time has come when UNESCO and other international organizations should abandon attempts to regulate the content of news and information and formulate rules for the press." While calling for the defense of a "free flow of information" in the world the authors of the declaration are in reality concerned merely for the consolidation of their monopoly of the dissemination of information and the prevention of fundamental changes in the existing international information order.

Explaining the developing countries' position to the Talloires conferees, UNESCO Director General M. M'Bow declared: "In the developing countries' opinion, the establishment of a new international order in the sphere of information and communications media should contribute to the removal of inequality in the allocation of the resources essential for an exchange of information. These countries believe that their voice is barely audible because it has been drowned out in the system of powerful radio transmitters which were installed back when their states had not been recognized as such.... They (the developing states--author) wish, like all others, to have the opportunity to convey to others their opinion of their own country and the whole world."

In October 1981 U.S. information agencies organized in Rio de Janeiro a symposium under the aegis of the Assembly of the Inter-American Press Association. The champions of "freedom" at this forum accused UNESCO of the fact that with its

support "initiatives to limit freedom of the press are being conceived and encouraged" and that its plans represent a threat to the West's information agencies. A number of participants threatened UNESCO, if it continued to develop the corresponding programs, with "financial pressure" on the part of the imperialist states.

The intrigues of the West's agencies aimed against a new information order are actively supported by the ruling circles of the capitalist countries. Thus the British minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs appealed on 9 December 1980 to all "countries which believe in the freedom of information to take political steps to avert the dangers contained in the proposals for the creation of a new order within a UN framework in international journalism and communications media." He claimed that the UNESCO initiatives threaten the creation of "an unfavorable atmosphere for the free movement of ideas and information."

Taking cover behind the fraudulent slogans of "independence of the press" and "unrestricted flow of information" and denying the responsibility of the mass information organs and the states supporting them for the publication and dissemination of false information harming peace and the security of the peoples, the Western countries are endeavoring to preserve the "old order" in their relations with the developing countries, in the information sphere included. It is more than obvious that the so-called "unimpeded exchange" of information between the developed capitalist and developing countries ensures a dominant position for the stronger and technically better equipped partner. The very existence of this gap objectively has a considerable impact on the structure and content of the information.

The emphasis on a "free flow of information" inevitably puts the Western states in a privileged position and affords the major information agencies and companies an opportunity to foist their interpretation of events on the world and manipulate the news.

To the dictation of powerful financial and industrial circles the West's information organs, without regard for the interests of the developing countries, decide which facts and opinions should be expounded and which not. "We must recognize," Indonesian President Suharto observed at the first conference of representatives of the press of Muslim countries, "that the developed countries dominate the international mass information media and are inundating our countries with a flow of news, imposing on us views reflecting the interests of the developed countries."

Polemicizing with the champions of a "free flow of information," UNESCO Director General M. M'Bow put to them the following question: "Does the journalist have sufficient freedom to illustrate events in all objectivity?" And gave the following answer: "I claim that there is systematic brainwashing in instances when there is a wish to turn public opinion into a Western channel. Sometimes such brainwashing precedes political or military interference."

From year to year there is an increase in the significance of the information sphere in the struggle for peace, against the arms race and for the organization of mutually profitable cooperation and mutual understanding between peoples. The mass information media are called on to play an important part in the solution of many international problems, primarily the removal of the threat of nuclear war. The information media should serve the goals of peace and trust, but may spread around the world the poison of dissension between countries and peoples.

This is why the Soviet Union and the other socialist states pay paramount attention to the development of the fundamental principles of the dissemination of international information. For this purpose the USSR submitted at the UNESCO General Conference 19th Session in Nairobi in 1976 a draft declaration on basic principles of international information. At that time the Western countries gave the Soviet draft a hostile reception and blocked its adoption. However, under the pressure of the socialist and developing countries the draft declaration was resubmitted at the UNESCO General Conference 20th Session in Paris. On this occasion the Western powers' obstructionist policy was overturned. On 28 November 1978 the General Conference approved on the basis of consensus the text of the declaration on the basic principles concerning the mass information media's contribution to the strengthening of peace and international mutual understanding, the development of human rights and the struggle against racism, apartheid and warmongering.

Thus it was possible for the first time to adopt an international law document making it incumbent upon the mass information organs to contribute to states' pursuit of a policy most facilitating "an easing of international tension and a peaceful and just settlement of international disputes." Article IV of the declaration proclaims: "The mass information media should play an important part in the education of the young people in a spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and mutual understanding for the development of human rights, the equal rights of all people and all nations and economic and social progress." The document instructs "professional organizations and also persons participating in the professional training of journalists to impart particular significance to the declaration's principles in drawing up codes of ethics and ensuring their fulfillment."

The adoption of such important and unambiguous wording knocked the ground from under the mass information organs which, fulfilling the social order of the military-industrial complex, the transnational corporations, racist regimes and individual extremist groupings, are conducting unbridled propaganda of militarism and the preparation for a nuclear war and inciting hostility and mistrust between peoples.

Although this declaration represents an authoritative all-embracing charter of principles of international information exchange aimed at the good of peace and cooperation, its implementation is not proceeding smoothly and is constantly encountering the resistance of certain forces which regard international information as a means of preserving the existing international economic and



information order, ideological sabotage in the emergent countries and as a means of justifying and spurring the arms race and counteracting the positive changes in international life.

The Soviet Union supports together with the developing states the creation of a new international order in the sphere of information, rendering them extensive material aid and the utmost assistance in the strengthening of their sovereignty in the information-cultural sphere. It has already supplied and continues to supply the necessary equipment for television centers, radio stations, printing houses, press agencies, film studios, ground satellite communications stations and national libraries. More than 1,000 highly skilled specialists from developing countries in the mass information media sphere have been trained in Soviet educational institutions and approximately as many are studying there.

On the other hand, the Western countries' proposals on rendering the young independent states financial and technical assistance in information science infringe the latter's interests and entail increased dependence on the imperialist communications systems. A working document prepared by the UNESCO Secretariat for the opening of an intergovernmental conference of this organization on the cooperation and development of the mass information media, which was held in Paris in 1980, rightly observed that the use on a significant scale of "technology from Europe, North America and Japan in the poorer, less developed countries could create more problems" than could be solved at the conference. Such assistance, the document went on to say, is frequently used as a means of the sale and marketing of equipment produced by the capitalist countries.

In order to exclude such negative phenomena the Soviet delegation submitted at the intergovernmental conference a proposal for the creation of an effective mechanism of protecting the developing countries' interests, guided by the following principles here:

any mechanism that is created should operate under the general supervision of UNESCO;

the executive authorities should be elected by the General Conference and be accountable to it;

the activity of the mechanism should correspond to the provisions of the declaration approved by UNESCO in 1978 and not infringe states' sovereign rights; and

should consider unacceptable any assistance connected with any political conditions.

The conference adopted a decision to create a permanent intergovernmental body under the aegis of UNESCO for the development of plans and programs providing for the development of communications systems and the creation of a voluntary assistance fund for strengthening the national information media of Asian, African and Latin American states. The conference rejected the proposal of the



U.S. delegation on the enlistment of transnational corporations and banks in the development of the emergent countries' information media..

Regional conferences of countries of Latin American (1976), Asia and Oceania (1979) and Africa (1980) devoted to problems of communications demonstrated the developing countries' aspiration to the development and realization of national programs of the development of the information and communications media. The participants in the three conferences requested that UNESCO render them assistance in the implementation of an international program of the development of communications media.

Initially the representatives of the United States and certain other Western countries opposed the adoption of any measures in this sphere. However, later, after long negotiations, they agreed to participate in the realization of certain plans for the development of information and communications media, hoping to subordinate to their influence the leaders of, from their viewpoint, "moderate" countries and then direct the discussion on the creation of a new international information order into a channel corresponding to the interests of the capitalist powers.

At its 21st session the UNESCO General Conference adopted a decision on the creation of an International Communications Development Program (ICDP), whose purpose, as the UNESCO Director General declared, is to "improve the structure of the mass information media and close the gap between different countries in the information sphere." This program is designed to improve the coordination of efforts with respect to an analysis of technical and financial requirements and resources in both the national and international spheres and also contribute to the creation of regional institutions and give the developing countries expert advice on questions of the creation of mass information media's national infrastructure.

An intergovernmental council of the ICDP was elected at the session incorporating 35 countries, including the USSR, Cuba, the United States, France, Japan and India. Its first session, which was held in June 1981 in Paris, determined the basic directions of the work on realization of the first projects in the developing countries, beginning 1982. The second session, which was held in Acapulco (Mexico) from 18 through 25 January 1982, examined problems of the financing of 54 projects totaling \$85 million. However, only \$6 million were to hand. While the representatives of the socialist and developing countries--the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Mexico, India and Iraq--reported specific contributions to the ICDP fund, Western countries like the United States, the FRG, Japan and certain others refused to assume any concrete commitments. The U.S. representatives merely promised that they would "encourage American private capital to participate in the realization of programs in the sphere of communications in the developing countries." At the same time, however, the U.S. Administration made its own participation conditional on the satisfaction of a number of its demands, including the appointment as director of the ICDP of a candidate acceptable to the United States. "The future will show," W. Harley, head of the American delegation, emphasized, "whether this program has secured greater freedom or led to diversity and basic values being sacrificed to ideological fashion." Essentially, however, it is

a question of the United States' attempts to make the ICDP an instrument of the implementation of American policy and a tool of the information enslavement of the emergent countries.

At the UNESCO General Conference IV Special Session, which was held in Paris from 24 November through 4 December 1982, the United States and other Western countries and also the representatives of Western information agencies launched a wide-ranging propaganda campaign against the establishment of a new international information order. They attempted at the session to exclude from the information development programs ("Communications at Man's Service," "Information System and Access to Knowledge") the principles and provisions aimed at the establishment of supervision on the part of UNESCO of the activity of Western countries' information agencies, which frequently sow hostility and mistrust between peoples. The international community, a draft resolution said, should not ignore the question of the content of information reports, which are potentially very important for the future development of the peoples and, essentially, all mankind.

The representatives of the socialist and developing countries defended the peoples' right to monitor the content of information disseminated by Western information agencies.

Numerous recommendations and proposals with respect to the creation of a new international information order have been developed within the framework of the international community in recent years. But their implementation has encountered the fierce resistance of certain Western powers headed by the United States and American information agencies, which have declared a veritable "psychological war" against the progressive provisions of a new international information order. Under these conditions realization of the recommendations and proposals of UNESCO require much effort and energy and long and persistent struggle.

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# MEMO HOLDS BLOC CONFERENCE ON WESTERN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 130-140

[Article by P. Anyutin: "Economic Integration in the Capitalist World"]

[Text] An international symposium, which was held on 28-29 September 1982 in the USSR Academy of Sciences' World Economics and International Relations Institute, was devoted to an analysis of the contemporary trends and development prospects of the integration processes in individual regions of the non-socialist part of the world. Leading specialists on questions concerning economic integration from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia and a group of Soviet scholars participated in it.

The symposium was organized within the framework of the problem-solving commission for the multi-sided cooperation of the socialist countries' academies of sciences on the subject "Researching Contemporary Capitalism" by a work group studying new phenomena in world capitalist economics and the processes of capitalist integration. Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor V. Martynov (USSR) opened the symposium.

Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor M. Maksimova (USSR) emphasized in his opening remarks that a serious task faced the meeting's participants -- examining from scientific Marxist-Leninist positions the complicated complex of integration processes which are unfolding in the different regions of the capitalist world.

If one turns to the countries of state monopolistic capitalism, then -- as is known -- these processes have come the furthest in Western Europe: economic groupings in the form of European associations have operated here for more than a quarter of a century. Along with this, integration trends in North America are letting themselves be heard more distinctly. The U. S. administration has officially declared its intention to create a North American common

market. Plans for a so-called Pacific Ocean integration headed by Japan have also been discussed for a number of years. Japanese business and ruling circles have noticeably increased their efforts in this direction.

Economic integration processes are also being manifested in one form or another in individual regions of the developing world. According to available information there were more than 30 regional groupings at the beginning of 1982 in which approximately 100 Asian, African and Latin American states were participating. Of course, far from every one of them has an integration nature.

Finally, it is impossible to leave out of one's reckoning the intensifying striving of imperialist circles to link the developing countries as closely as possible with the capitalist groupings. The plans for including Southeast Asian countries in a proposed Pacific Ocean association, Mexico in a planned North American common market, etc., testify specifically about this.

Such phenomena require thorough study and, what is especially important, a class Marxist-Leninist evaluation. The latter, is especially necessary since many bourgeois ideologists, ignoring the social content of the integration, continue to regard it as a certain process which unites states regardless of their social system and the place and role of the countries in world politics and economics.

Indeed, as Marxists have repeatedly demonstrated, if one takes the modern world as a whole, then there are two main types of integration present -- socialist and capitalist. Having common objective prerequisites which are connected with the requirements for developing production forces and the internationalization of economic life, these two types are thoroughly different in their social nature, goals, mechanism, and consequences. Their own general laws, which are predetermined by the nature of the social system of the integrating states, are inherent in each one of them.

As is known, socialist integration is embodied in the progressive development of socialist cooperation. Concerning capitalist integration processes, there exist large differences in the levels, degree and forms of the manifestations of these processes in Western Europe on the one hand and in North America and the Pacific Ocean region on the other hand. We must expose these differences. At the same time, no matter what forms capitalist integration has taken in this or that region, they all have a single class nature. Imperialist groupings (those in effect and those being planned) have a common goal -- opposing social cooperation and slowing down the world revolutionary process.

If one turns to the integration processes in the developing part of the world, then one should not, in our opinion, relate them to the socialist or to the capitalist type. They possess their own specific nature which springs from the special role of the liberated states in the world capitalist economy. There is a fundamentally different class direction in these processes -- it is expressed in the striving of the developing countries to secure unity in the struggle against the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism and to limit the domination and tyranny of international monopolies and foreign capital.

The developing countries are combining their efforts in order to overcome economic backwardness, solve the most critical social problems in a positive manner and complete industrialization very rapidly. All this permits the integration between the liberated states to be regarded as a transitional type.

When analyzing integration processes in the capitalist world, we see that the forces of modern capitalism, who are intensifying the rivalry of the three centers, the exacerbation of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the groupings themselves, and the competition of the largest transnational cooperations, are opposing the unifying tendencies. There is opposition of another character on the path of the developing countries' regional integration. It springs from the social dissimilarity of these countries (states with a socialist orientation and countries which are developing along the capitalist path) and their intensifying economic differentiation. The policy of imperialism, whose goal is to split the developing countries, disturb their unity and integrate these countries into the capitalist system, is having an especially negative effect on these processes.

When evaluating integration in the capitalist world, it is important to consider the large-scale changes which are taking place in world economics and politics and in the international situation as a whole.

In doing this, such factors as the increasing influence of real socialism on the course of world events, the struggle of the two policies in world politics -- on cooperation on the one hand and on the aggravation of international tensions on the other hand, the detected move of humanity to a new stage in the scientific and technical revolution and along with this the deepening of the crisis phenomena in the world capitalist economy, etc., have special significance. All this is having a profound influence on the rates and scope of the development of the integration processes in the world capitalist system, on the correlation of centripetal and centrifugal forces, and on the nature and forms of the contradictions which are arising. An analysis of the specific forms of integration in the various regions of the non-socialist world, which is the main subject and major task of this symposium, will help to understand and explain this complicated interconnection of phenomena.

#### The Present Stage of Western European Integration<sup>1</sup>

Professor T. Palankai (Hungarian People's Republic), a candidate of economic sciences, presented a report devoted to analyzing the trends and prospects for the development of a system of interstate regulation in the EEC. Having pointed out that the world capitalist economy had experienced a serious crisis during the Seventies, the speaker emphasized that the differentiation and polarization processes among the capitalist countries, including within the Common Market, were strengthened because of this.

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<sup>1</sup>For the problems of European economic integration, cf. MEMO, Nos 11 and 12, 1980

From among the crisis phenomena, the speaker especially singled out the crisis of state monopolistic regulation. He sees its sources to be in the aggravation of the contradiction between the internationalization of capitalism's production forces, which has come far, and the mechanisms for regulating economic processes, which basically maintain a national character and which are only being coordinated poorly on an international scale. The internationalization of economic life has strengthened to a significant degree the interconnection of the national economies. In EEC, the most noticeable interlacing of production processes has occurred in manufacturing industry branches (general and transport building, chemistry). The reverse side of the growing internationalization of capitalist production was the increase practically everywhere of inflation which was spread, in particular, along foreign trade channels. Close and intensive economic bonds offer a large opportunity for shifting the consequences of crises to the regional grouping participants who are less able to compete.

The internationalization of economic life has not only advanced new tasks for the national state monopolistic regulation systems but also placed the formation of joint coordinating mechanisms at an international, especially a regional, level on the agenda.

Up to now the international forms of state monopolistic capitals have undoubtedly received their greatest development within the EEC. The market integration model in the form of a customs union was supplemented during the Sixties by a number of supranational regulating instruments which performed the following main functions:

- Information and analytical (the creation of a unified statistical base for forecasting, joint scientific work, and the conducting of a coordinated joint policy);
- Standard creating (the development of "codes of conduct" for local and "foreign" transnational corporations, stimulating the processes of international concentration and centralization of capital in the form of "European companies", etc., for the purposes of insuring a "free" market within the EEC which would be advantageous for big capital);
- The development of common special purpose directives (including those for greater coordination in using national programming instruments especially those of a mid-range and long-range nature; meetings at the highest level within the European council have acquired a prominent role in this area during recent years);
- The coordination of national economic policies (coordinating efforts in individual areas such as the regulation of agrarian relations and the development of tax systems; the European currency system is insuring the direct coordination of the Common Market member countries' monetary policy);
- the creation and use of common funds (such as the common EEC budget and the assets of the European Investment Bank);

-- Directly influencing the economy through the community's bodies (from regulating the production of steel in the European Coal and Steel Community to the mechanism for common agrarian prices).

In conclusion, T. Palankai pointed out that, although the economic difficulties have not given birth in Western Europe to a trend toward disintegration and although the EEC is as before moving ahead of other integration associations, one can hardly expect large steps in the immediate future in the expansion of joint supranational regulating mechanisms.

In his report, Candidate of Economic Sciences Kh. Nokov (People's Republic of Bulgaria) points out that the inter-imperialist contradictions are not allowing the trends toward economic integration in the capitalist world to acquire a universal nature; they are restricting it to regional limits. In Western Europe itself, integration has taken place for a long time seemingly around two poles -- within the framework of the EEC and on the basis of a mutual liberalization of trade in the European Free Trade Association. More than a decade has been needed to overcome the split and the trade and political barriers between the countries of these two groupings in Western Europe.

Changes, however, have taken place in the EEC policy since the beginning of the Seventies. Instead of expanding mutual economic ties between its member countries and consistently moving toward a "single economy", its attention and efforts have been concentrated on increasing the number of the community's members and on attracting the new states of Africa, the Carribean basin and the Pacific Ocean basin toward association with the EEC.

The increase in the number of EEC members just as the gradual abolition of customs duties in trade with the countries of the European Free Trade Association undoubtedly did not contribute to the further expansion of integration processes within the community. In particular, contradictions connected with a single agrarian policy have been sharply exacerbated. England and a number of other countries have refused to participate in carrying out the "Werner Plan" on currency integration. The differences in the national economic policy of the member countries have been strengthened in the crisis situation.

This does not mean that the development of Western European integration has been frozen. The existence of the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association shows that the regional unification of conditions in the distribution sphere has achieved a high level. The creation of unified leading bodies for the European associations and the formation of a European parliament by means of direct elections also have great significance. However, it is just as clear that the policy of expanding membership instead of the further qualitative development of the grouping has led to a weakening of its internal bonds. The "globalist" tendency in the development of the community's foreign economic policy which was expressed in the conclusion of agreements with the developing countries concerning "special relationships", also testifies to this.



During recent years, it has been possible to talk about a certain strengthening of the political nature of the integration in Western Europe. The achievement of a unity of views and the development of a single strategy on international relations matters are more and more being assessed in the Community's leading countries as a necessary precondition for overcoming economic contradictions. However, such a consolidation of "political will" is hardly possible under the conditions of the crisis and contradictions which capitalism is experiencing.

The further strengthening of integration requires that the decisions, which are being made, and the corresponding practical measures reflect to the greatest degree the common goals of the Community and -- at the least -- be oriented toward the interests of the individual member countries. The "universalization" of the integration processes, that is, their expansion into new areas-- especially into the monetary policy of the member countries, is contributing to the deepening of the integration. However, the increasing conservatism of individual bodies of the Community is in opposition to the trend toward "universalizing" integration efforts. Moreover, in the crisis situation of the past years centrifugal tendencies in relations between the Community countries have appeared with new force and a clear dependence between the deterioration of the condition of the economic situation and the slowing down of the integration process has arisen.

On the other hand, the intensifying competition of the United States and Japan is pushing the countries of Western Europe to further consolidate their forces. The principle of a "single approach", where a representative of the Community speaks in the name of all member countries in GATT, the IMF, in North-South discussions, etc., is being used more and more frequently in the foreign policy of the EEC. At the same time, the EEC countries are as before displaying in a majority of the other areas a readiness only for those integration measures which do not limit the right of individual governments to exert an independent regulating influence on the national economy.

On the whole, Kh. Nokov thinks that the development of integration in Western Europe will continue and be accompanied by a further quantitative growth in the EEC, an expansion of rights and an increase in the independence of the Community's leading bodies; however, its path will be even more unequal and contradictory.

In the discussions which were held on the first two reports, the sources and consequences of the crisis in state monopolistic regulation were discussed (Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. Kosarev, USSR); the prospects for the development of Western European integration "in breadth and depth" were defined (Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor G. Chibrikov, USSR) and of a common European market (Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor M. Bunkina, USSR); and the question of the nature of the relations between the capitalist and socialist countries of Europe was raised (Doctor A. Ben', the Polish People's Republic). In this regard, M. Maksimova emphasized the need to make an accurate distinction between integration and other forms of international economic cooperation. The speakers were united in the fact that there can be no integration between countries with two opposing social systems whereas cooperation between them is actually expanding and is an important stabilizing factor in the international situation.

Doctor K. Garan (the Hungarian People's Republic) directed the attention of the symposium participants to attempts to adapt the EEC mechanism to the conditions of the protracted crisis. The questions of the effect of the crisis on Western European integration and of the corresponding evolution of the EEC were also examined in the presentation of Doctor N. Leman (GDR). The intensification of political factors in the development of Western European integration was emphasized in the presentation of T. Palankay.

Professor S. Tikal (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) singled out the tendency, which is inherent in bourgeois economic science, to overevaluate integration's positive effect on economic life and to declare it a "universal remedy" for all the ailments of capitalism. Without denying the stimulating effect of integration on economic growth, the speaker advanced the thought that this effect is achieved to a great extent by strangling the interests of third countries, and this evokes a sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradictions.

When speaking about the effect of integration on economic development, S. Tikal comes to the conclusion that integration contributes not so much to increasing employment as to increasing labor productivity and the overall effectiveness of production units. The expansion of the market's scope in the integrated zone and the sharpening of competition in it lead to the accelerated concentration of production and stimulate scientific and technical progress, thereby increasing the effectiveness of scientific research and experimental design work and accelerating the spread of scientific, technical and technological innovations.

A second important avenue in the effect of integration on economic growth is the creation of new stimuli for capital investments. An integrated market makes the optimization of production units and the constant modernization of the industrial apparatus necessary.

The amounts of financial resources, which can be used for investments, are also increasing because of the growth in the amassed part of the profits, as a result of the intensification in the export of capital within the limits of the grouping, and because of the flow of assets from outside which is connected with the attempts of third countries to get around the customs barriers and gain access to the integrated market.

By insuring the freedom of movement of workers within the Community and by attracting cheap manpower from third countries, the EEC regime is having an influence on the "human factor" in raising labor productivity. The further development and expansion of a regional division of labor, which is accompanied by the accelerated expansion of the mutual trade of the grouping's member countries, are operating in this same direction.

However, the expansion and intensification of trade ties within the integrated economic space are being achieved to a considerable degree by strangling the interests of the third countries whose goods are subjected to customs discrimination in the Community's market.

Thus, despite the statements of the initiators of imperialist integration that its goal is to promote the harmonious development of world trade, it in fact leads to the deformation of trade flows in the interest of the monopolistic capital of the member states.

Integration processes under capitalism lead to an aggravation of the competition struggle both between the participating countries' national financial capital groups and between them and the monopolies of other states.

The creation of the EEC led to the break-up of the monocentric system in the capitalist world under the hegemony of the United States and to its replacement with a polycentric structure for which the rivalry of three imperialist centers of power is characteristic. The numerical expansion of the EEC and the gravitation toward it of the other capitalist countries on the continent is increasing more and more the importance of Western Europe as the main counterweight to the United States in the capitalist world. At the same time, S. Tikal cautions against overestimating the weakening of the U. S. position in the capitalist world.

The report of Doctor G. Izik-Khedri (Hungarian People's Republic) was devoted to several political aspects in Western European integration. The speaker pointed out that the hopes for an almost automatic shift within the EEC from a customs union to an economic one were unfounded and that joint political solutions are required for such an evolution. When there is a clash of the political and economic factors during integration, political considerations always win. The priority of the latter explains why the Common Market was originally formed by the continental "six". Political factors are also clearly observed in the latest wave of membership expansion in the EEC. Significant political disagreements exist in EEC-United States relations. In the West, they are writing about the deep and chronic "trans-Atlantic crisis" which is connected with the weakening of the leading role of the United States in the world capitalist system. The source of the contradictions is the fact that the EEC countries are interested to a greater degree than the United States in relaxing international tensions and developing stable and mutually beneficial cooperation between the countries of the two social systems. Speaking during the discussions, M. Bunkina pointed to the complicated mutual interlacing of centripetal and centrifugal trends in the development of the EEC and the strengthening of the contradictions between the imperialist powers in the area of foreign policy. Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor Ts. Tsanev (People's Republic of Bulgaria) pointed out that the present stage in the development of capitalism is characterized by the universal nature of the integration processes which is leaving its imprint on the system of production relationships in the bourgeois society.

The distinctive features of the evolution of the integration policies of the individual EEC countries was treated in the presentation of N. Leman. Many participants paid attention to the more precise definition of the concept "political integration" and to the question of its correlation with economic integration.

The report of Doctor A. Ben' (Polish People's Republic) was devoted to an examination of the preconditions for monetary integration within the EEC. He pointed out that in order to form the "optimum monetary zone" -- apart from the interests of the parties -- freedom of movement of production factors, an open nature, close correlation of the participating countries' economies, their high diversification, and approximately identical rates of inflation and economic growth are required.

The analysis of empirical data, which characterizes each condition, served as the basis for the speaker's generally skeptical assessment of the prospects for monetary integration in Western Europe. A. Ben' described in particular a whole series of national limitations in the movement of capital within the Community. These are hindering the formation of a common market for capital and are making the introduction of a single currency difficult. Many factors of a social and purely economic nature have caused an inadequate mobility of manpower within the EEC.

In order to describe the degree of "openness" of the economies of the countries being integrated, the speaker used the foreign trade turnover (exports and imports) and national income correlation indicator. Despite the considerable differences between countries (especially between the "small" and "large" ones) according to this indicator, its level was rather high in all cases. The interconnection of the national economies within the EEC, which was expressed for each country by the proportion of its trade with its partner countries in the Community within its overall foreign trade, was also great. As A. Ben' pointed out, the evidence for the growing mutual dependence of the Common Market states would be even more obvious if the many-fold increases in the price of oil, which caused a "swelling" in the costs of their imports from third countries, had not occurred during the Seventies. The last of the above listed preconditions for monetary integration -- a high degree of diversification in the national economies and the mature and far-flung structure of material production -- exists in the EEC.

Regarding the characteristics of inflation, the discrepancies in the indicators for individual countries is extremely great here. The annual increases in internal gross production and industrial production also vary in a broad range.

Thus, A. Ben' considers that a majority of the objective preconditions for the creation of an "optimum monetary zone" are absent in the EEC. Therefore, despite the experience which has been accumulated in conducting a joint monetary policy ("monetary snake" etc.) and the striving to attach the nature of such a zone to the European monetary system, such hopes are hardly judged realizable in the immediate future.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Yu. Shishkov (USSR) pointed out that in the future the expansion of the EEC especially by means of comparatively lesser developed Southern European countries will in all probability lead to the internal heterogeneity of this group and the different directions of the member states' interests outweighing the trend toward the integration of their economic policy. In other words, the unwieldy conglomerate of 12 countries can split under the weight of its own differences into two-three subgroups which, while

remaining within the EEC, will participate in integration measures to different degrees, move toward the planned frontiers with unequal speed and, possibly, even acquire a somewhat distinctive status.

### Integration Processes in North America

The discussion of the problems of integration in the North American region began with the report of Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor Ts. Tsanev (People's Republic of Bulgaria). He pointed out that, despite the fact that the largest imperialist state which has colossal production, raw material and financial resources at its disposal is located in North America, the integration processes there have become an objective necessity.

On the whole, a definite weakening in the international position of American imperialism occurred during the Seventies. This was undoubtedly one of the factors which aroused the U. S. government to adopt the policy of accelerating the integration processes in the region. This approach was specifically expressed in the "new continentalism" doctrine which has not only a political but also a clearly expressed economic content. American monopolistic capital is trying to lessen the sharpness of the contradictions facing the country by this and to strengthen its position in the competition with the Western European and Japanese monopolies for markets, raw material sources and spheres of influence.

Along with the general factors which are stimulating integration in the region, there also exist special preconditions for the energetic development of the processes of U. S. economic rapprochement with its neighboring countries -- Canada and Mexico. Among them, Ts. Tsanev singles out the peculiarities of Canada's state structure. The strong decentralization of power within the confederation creates an increased initiative by the individual provinces in foreign economic relations. The absence of firm economic ties between the provinces and their production specialization, which is oriented toward exports to the United States, hinder the formation of a single national complex. At the same time, the growing interdependence between the Canadian provinces and the American states and their close economic interaction insure a distinctive equivalent of the interstate integrated institutions which have been created in other integrated groupings, for example, in the EEC. This once again underscores that the main thing in integration is not the political and legal institutions of a superstructure nature, but production ties and the cohesion and mutual interlacing of production processes.

The essential distinctive feature of North American integration is the fact that it is being carried out primarily for the sake of the U. S. financial oligarchy and American monopolies. The more poorly developed economies of Canada and especially of Mexico have become in a certain sense an appendage and extension of the American economic complex. Of course, even here the position of the parties is characterized by inequality; however, it would be incorrect to completely write off the efforts of Canadian capital which is penetrating into the U. S. economy.

The integration processes in North America are not developing in isolation; they are constantly experiencing the effects of the changes in the world economic and political situation. In particular, the raw material and energy crises, which have revealed the growing dependence of the United States on the natural resources of Canada and Mexico, are leaving a deep imprint on these processes. However, the striving of the American monopolies to obtain a wider and more reliable access to the energy riches of its neighboring countries is running into serious difficulties. It has become the source and catalyst for the sharp contradictions between the region's countries and has strengthened nationalistic tendencies in Canada and Mexico.

North American integration is developing amidst the struggle of opposing trends, overcoming sharp contradictions. It is evident that the economic rapprochement of the region's countries will continue in the future regardless of the decisions which will be made jointly or unilaterally at the political level, Ts. Tsanev pointed out in conclusion.

In Candidate of Economic Sciences T. Lavrovskaya's (USSR) report, stress was placed on analyzing the motivating forces, consequences and contradictions of North American integration.<sup>2</sup> The speaker pointed out that intraregional cooperation, especially American-Canadian, has reached a high level of development and that its importance for both countries has noticeably grown and undoubtedly will increase in the future also. She agreed with Ts. Tsanev's conclusions that the weakening of the U. S. economic and political positions in the world, its growing inability to withstand the onslaught of Japanese and Western European rivals, and the complexity of the problems facing the country -- especially energy -- are forcing the United States to search for effective ways to maintain its position as leader of the world capitalist system.

Under these conditions, the United States is clearly counting on economic integration with Canada and also with Mexico. The policy of the present American administration graphically demonstrates this. The achievement of a "North American consensus" by means of forming an economic association composed of the three countries is nevertheless extremely problematical.

In his presentation, Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Borodayeveskiy (USSR) expressed the thought that in a theoretical sense it is apparently quite impossible to resolve with complete certitude the question: Will there exist or not exist in North America a free trade zone composed of two or more countries within the time under discussion? There are not enough natural economic rapprochement forces, operating at the microlevel, for the formation of such a zone. Here, an enormous role belongs to the subjective factor which is most difficult of all to forecast.

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. also T. Lavrovskaya, "Problems in the Economic Integration of the United States and Canada", MEMO, No 8, 1982".



At the same time, one can hardly begin to maintain that the fate of North American integration entirely depends on opportunities for further trade liberalization.

Concerning a regional United States-Canadian economic complex, its genesis and mechanism is essentially different from the Western European "model". Specifically, a very important precondition for private monopolistic integration -- a free method for transferring capital abroad -- was created here a long time ago and in a one-sided way although it was based on reciprocity. This in combination with the unlimited convertibility of the currencies and free migration of the population meant the solution of a number of "negative" integration tasks -- without any treaty or legal formulations.

The free operations of private business also explains the almost complete absence in North America of so-called economic and political integration. In the relations of the region's countries, there are extraordinarily few bilateral intergovernmental agreements of a trade and economic nature and joint institutes, similar to the supranational EEC bodies, are missing.

At the same time, one should not regard the weakness of the institutional principle during the formation of the regional economic complex as a sign of immaturity, of an early stage in the integration process. Rather it is evidence of the ability of private monopolistic forces to use in a one-sided way the stimuli which have been created by both states, to overcome obstacles which arise and to achieve the goals which have been posed, relying on the region's combined resources but without resorting to intergovernmental regulation of the economy.

T. Palankay, who examined the complicated configuration of political factors and forces in the region, took part in the discussion of the problems of North American integration. Candidate of economic Sciences V. Popov (USSR) pointed out the different level of interest in integration with the United States on the part of individual groups of Canadian private capital. Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor V. Sushchenko (USSR) based his presentation on the thesis of the determining role of the institutional principle and of organizational preconditions in the appearance and development of regional integration. Ye. Kosarev also pointed out the importance of a treaty and legal basis for integration. Candidate of Historical Sciences S. Molochkov (USSR) spoke about several political aspects of North American integration and about the decisive role of the flow of American direct investments into Canada in insuring the "cohesion" and growing interdependence of both countries' economies.

#### Prospects for the Formation of a Pacific Ocean Community

Two reports were devoted to the trends and prospects of integration processes with the participation of Pacific Ocean basin countries. Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. Stolyarov (USSR) cited a great deal of evidence concerning the internationalization of economic life and the intensification of economic ties in the region and examined the theoretical and practical aspects for the creation of a Pacific Ocean community.



As is known, the concept of a Pacific Ocean community in its most developed form was worked out by Japanese specialists and proposed as an official doctrine at the beginning of 1980 by the then prime minister of Japan, M. Ohira. Its essence boils down to the following: 1) a community is being created based on culture and economics and not on political and military factors; 2) it will have an open nature and will not be transformed into a closed grouping; 3) membership in it will be open to all countries who wish to join it; 4) originally the community might include Japan, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the five ASEAN member countries; and 5) cooperation during the initial stage should be carried out at an unofficial level.

The creation in the region of an OECD-type organization, namely, a Pacific Ocean trade and development organization which would be allotted the functions of stimulating economic rapprochement and the development of common economic policies for the participating countries, is being proposed as a first step toward Pacific Ocean integration.

Plans for the creation of a Pacific Ocean community rely on significant improvements in the economies of the region's countries and on an increase in their share of the world capitalist economy. In particular, an accelerated build-up of the economic potential of the Pacific Ocean states of the United States is taking place and similar territorial improvements in production are also occurring in Japan and Australia. The region's countries possess large reserves of mineral and energy raw materials and quite a few agricultural, forestry and fishing resources. The presence of a powerful raw material base strengthens the objective foundation of the integration processes. The Pacific Ocean has been converted into an intensive transportation highway of practically unlimited carrying capacity.

Foreign trade between the region's countries has been extremely intensified. Not only industrial raw materials (bituminous coal, iron ore, bauxite, oil, copper and semi-metal ores, and timber) and agricultural goods but also finished products, including those produced on the basis of international production specialization and cooperation, figure in their mutual trade. An important role in the internationalization of economic life in the Pacific Ocean region also belongs to the intensive exchange of direct production investments between its countries.

The specifics of the integration processes in the Pacific Ocean basin are connected a great deal with the fact that the countries, which are being drawn into regional cooperation, are located on an enormous territory, that is, there is no compact group of neighboring states here which could form the nucleus of an integrated zone.

Another important peculiarity of the integration processes in this vast region is the absence here of developed institutional and legal forms which could contribute to the regulation of mutual trade, the movement of capital, scientific and technical exchanges, etc.

Concerning the Soviet Union, our country thinks that international economic relations in the Pacific Ocean basin should be constructed without discrimination and on the basis of a constructive and democratic approach and that they should help the interests of all the region's peoples and be a positive factor for strengthening peace and security.

In Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Yakubovskiy's (USSR) report, it was also pointed out that the concept of a Pacific Ocean community primarily reflects the interests of certain circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie who see in it a way to consolidate their positions in the region in the struggle against the forces of socialism and national liberation.

Recently, this concept has moved outside the limits of academic discussion and become a subject of discussion in governmental circles. A second conference on the problems of a Pacific Ocean community was held in Bangkok in June 1982. Along with business and scientific circles, official representatives of a number of the region's countries participated in it. During the meeting, a decision was made to create "working groups" to develop practical recommendations in the area of trade, investments and technology exchanges.

Among the long-range factors which are contributing to strengthening the trend toward integration, it is possible to mention the economic rapprochement of the basin's countries, especially in its western part. Apparently, the integration processes in this vast zone of the capitalist economy will in the future primarily take place at the subregional level, for example, between Japan, Australia and New Zealand as a result of the introduction of a "free trade" regime for a limited circle of goods, etc.

The trend toward economic rapprochement in the region, which was pointed out, is being formulated politically and legally in the form of long-term treaties and agreements, primarily between the industrially developed capitalist countries of the basin. The imperialist powers would like to drag the region's developing countries into these processes in order to keep them in the position of a dependent periphery within the capitalist world economy.

Every imperialist power, which is involved in discussing the plans for a Pacific Ocean community, is also pursuing its own special interests along with general ones. Japanese imperialism is emphasizing with ever greater certitude the creation of a large economic grouping under its aegis and -- in the future -- a political grouping of states in the western part of the Pacific Ocean basin as an important way to strengthen its position in the cooperation between the imperialist powers.

The attitude of the United States toward the plans for forming a regional community is two-sided. On the one hand, it fears the strengthening of Japan in a regional and global regard and, on the other, it sees in the Pacific Ocean grouping an opportunity to orient the ever growing economic and political might of its rival into a channel which is less dangerous to it.

The region's medium and small industrial powers regard economic rapprochement with the countries of the Pacific Ocean as a means to strengthen their economic independence and to break their close ties with the United States and England.

In the ASEAN countries, the suspicion is being expressed that the creation of a community will lead to the establishment of U.S. military and political hegemony and Japanese economic domination over them.

On the whole, the promotion of the concept of a Pacific Ocean community has been marked by significant divergences in approaches toward defining its goals and tasks and the forms and methods for realizing it. This has contributed to the origination of new areas of contradictions both in relations between the region's imperialist powers and between them and the numerous developing Pacific Ocean states. This will evidently complicate the task of implementing this concept.

Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. Kovrigin (USSR), who spoke during the discussion, described the possible consequences of creating a Pacific Ocean economic grouping for the development of the USSR's relations with the region's countries. Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Slavinskiy (USSR) posed the question: Can the development of an economic partnership within the framework of the proposed Pacific Ocean community be qualified as economic integration? Neither the present state of this partnership nor the plans for its development fully satisfy Marxist integration criteria.

M. Bunkina expressed doubt about the integration nature of the international cooperation system which has taken shape in the Pacific Ocean basin, although she did not deny the possibility of the trend toward integration becoming stronger here in the future. Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Lukin (USSR), Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Ivanov (USSR) and Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Vrevskiy (USSR) also spoke about the prospects for the development of integration bonds between the capitalist states of the Pacific Ocean basin, especially the more powerful and developed ones. V. Nikolayev (USSR) described the distinctive features of the position of the small developing states in the region's economy.

A. Borodayevskiy expressed doubt about the possible participation of Canada in implementing any type of Pacific Ocean community without the United States and all the more as an alternative to today's Canadian-American relations. If both countries should join the future grouping, this would mean the inclusion of the entire North American integrated complex into the Pacific Ocean economic structure.

M. Maksimova pointed out that the appearance of a Pacific Ocean community would introduce profound changes in the alignment of forces of the imperialist centers. Japan is emerging as the initiator of this idea which has, however, been accepted in Western Europe with skepticism and apprehension. Concerning the United States, it is faced with a complicated choice, and the creation and nature of the future grouping in the Pacific Ocean region will depend in no small degree on its position.

## The Distinctive Features of the Regional Cooperation of Developing Countries

In his report, Candidate of Economic Sciences N. Zaytsev pointed out that the problems of the regional economic integration of the developing countries as a specific type of integration in the non-socialist part of the world are being fruitfully researched by Marxist scholars. At the same time, the elements of a complex approach to evaluating the exceptionally complicated and contradictory processes of regional integration in Asia, Africa and Latin America are still not sufficiently present in works of this type.

These processes, which began almost two and a half decades ago, are characterized by considerable dynamism and by a growing number of multilateral inter-governmental agreements about integration and regional economic cooperation in which an ever growing number of states are participating.

The development of the integration processes is characterized by definite positive results, especially in the area of expanding intraregional trade. In all integrated groupings, the volume of mutual trade has expanded considerably, and its share in the overall volume of the appropriate countries' foreign trade has also increased within the regional organizations of Latin America and Africa. Trade in finished products, including machines and equipment, has increased appreciably in a number of groupings. Multilateral payment agreements, signed, for example, by the countries of the central American Common Market (CACM) and the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) have contributed to the development of regional economic cooperation. Nevertheless, a number of factors, which are typical of a larger part of the regions of the developing world, are exerting a restraining influence on integration and are decreasing the effectiveness of cooperation (political heterogeneity and disagreements between the participants of the groupings, considerable differences in levels of economic development, the uniformity of export structures, the imperfection of the organizational integration mechanism, the interference of transnational cooperations, etc.).

During recent years, the problem of mutual economic cooperation on a regional basis has figured more and more frequently in the program documents for restructuring international economic relations for the sake of establishing a new international economic order. These questions are occupying an ever larger place in the activity of the United Nations. The establishment of a special committee within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the increased attention by the Economic and Social Council and regional economic commissions are evidence of this.

N. Zaytsev thinks that the policy of developing mutual economic cooperation reflects the growing level of political consciousness in the developing countries. Nevertheless, the stress in their foreign trade policy is being placed as before on regulating relations with the West, and regional cooperation is regarded not as an alternative to these relations but as a potentially important lever for their progressive restructuring.

The economic cooperation of the developing countries, which has been transformed today into a new and independent element within the system of

international economic relations, is making an ever larger imprint on their interconnection with third countries, both the developed capitalist ones and the socialist ones. In turn, according to the opinion of specialists in the liberated countries, CEMA experience is very interesting and can be used by them in implementing cooperation programs, including those on a regional basis.

The report of Doctors E. Chay and F. Rozeno, scholars from the GDR, was devoted a great deal to a similar circle of questions. They emphasized that the international division of labor of a colonial and neocolonial type is responsible for the fact the lion's share of the young states' economic ties still falls to the industrial capitalist powers and that the former home countries, as a rule, are emerging as their main contractors. Under these conditions, the attempts of the developing countries to overcome their mutual isolation by means of various forms of economic cooperation, both on a regional and on a broader basis, are acquiring special importance. The greatest experience in the functioning of groupings of an integrated type has been acquired by the countries of Latin America.

The carrying out of steps for regional economic integration was dictated by the desire to use better the available resources for development and is in the common channel of the strategy which assumes "collective support using one's own forces". The appearance of integrated groupings with a clearly expressed antiimperialist direction can be regarded as a serious independent contribution by the developing countries to the realization of the idea of a new international economic order.

As is known, in contrast to the industrially developed powers the need for the developing countries' close cooperation and integration is not caused by a high level of economic development and by active involvement in the internationalization processes of economic life. The priorities and goals of this integration, which has been primarily called upon to make its contribution to the overcoming of economic backwardness and the achievement of true independence, are in accordance with something else. That is why less attention is usually paid in the groupings of developing countries to questions concerning the development of mutual trade by means of liberalizing trade conditions than to joint efforts in solving such urgent tasks as the struggle against hunger and mass unemployment and the mobilizing of investment resources for the creation of an economic and social infrastructure, etc.

The striving of the developing countries to accelerate the industrialization process and to make it more effective is becoming an ever more important motivating force for their cooperation and integration. In this regard, whereas the large countries are striving to create a far-flung diversified industrial structure, the small ones are only trying to insure the appearance of several dynamic branches which could be effectively plugged into the cooperation of the region's states. Definite experience of this type has been acquired specifically in the ASEAN countries.

The specific social and economic content of this or that developing country's cooperation and integration is definitely influenced by the internal class

forces which prevail in these countries and also depends on the position of the imperialist monopolies in the region's economy.

The definite economic rapprochement on a regional basis of a number of developing countries that belong to different social systems, which does not possess, however, sufficient preconditions for developing into integration, is also occurring. A community of historical tasks: the need to overcome the colonial legacy and to give a rebuff to the expansionism of the imperialist monopolies, is at the basis of the unifying trend.

It is also necessary to emphasize that the economic cooperation of the developing states does not always contribute to the strengthening of their economic independence. It is not for nothing that imperialism is trying to modify the regional organizations of colonial times in a neocolonial way and also to put together new associations under its aegis. The neocolonialists are also using bilateral understandings with individual countries in order to sow discord among the regional groupings, which are objectionable to them, and to emasculate their antiimperialist content. The transnational monopolies are playing an important role in this strategy.

Apparently, the development of the developing states' regional cooperation will in the future experience the effect of many negative factors and will undergo crises, degeneration and even the disintegration of some grouping or other. Nevertheless, such cooperation is a requirement of the times. The already existing and future regional economic groupings can serve as a starting point for the continuous development of solid and lasting ties, which are based on a division of labor, and for the spread of higher, including integration, forms of economic cooperation between the states.

Candidate of Economic Sciences T. Karlova (USSR), speaking during the discussion, pointed out that the reasons for integration's crisis in the developing world are frequently connected with the inadequateness of its forms. There is a multiplicity of cooperation forms and avenues in the regional associations of the developing countries. It is possible to single out three main types of integration in them: market, production, and also integration in the infrastructure sphere.

During this stage, the predominant one is market integration which under the conditions of the developing countries is mainly displayed in the creation of preferential trade zones and customs unions. Although this form stimulates to a certain degree the growth of regional trade, it does not solve, however, the main problems in the development of the liberated countries because it does not contribute to the mobilization of natural, human and financial resources and does not create mechanisms for regulating relations with foreign capital. Not only does it not eliminate the problem of the participants' inequality, it even exacerbates it.

Production integration opens up opportunities for a more complete approach to solving the tasks of independent economic development. At the same time, it by itself also does not permit such urgent problems as the inequality of the



partners, the narrowness of the regional markets and inconsistencies in realizing industrial programs, to be solved. The effectiveness of production integration and its correspondence with developmental goals depends a great deal on the selection of instruments which most fully correspond to the social and economic conditions of this group of countries.

Cooperation in the infrastructure area, which is expanding both as an independent form of integration and as a component part of more general integration programs, is a relatively new avenue in regional integration. This cooperation has special significance for the lesser developed states of tropical Africa and the Caribbean basin.

The thought that the integration of the developing countries might become one of the key international problems of the Eighties sounded in the presentation of Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Vigand (USSR). He described in detail the specific nature of the integration processes on the African continent and the distinctive features of the numerous trade and economic groupings which are appearing here. Ye. Kosarev, who proposed examining the integration of the developing countries as a special transitional type of international economic integration, cited extensive material on the activity of such associations in Latin America.

In the conclusion of the general discussions, Doctor of Economic Sciences Yu. Shishkov emphasized that the broad inclusion in the symposium of different regions and forms of regional integration permitted one to move away from the Western European "model" which had seemed for a long time to many researchers both in the West and among Marxists as the only "true" and "legitimate" form for this process. The echoes of this view are alive; they also sounded in several presentations during the symposium.

A complex approach provides an opportunity to better understand the common idea that unites all these types and forms the essence of this multifaceted process. A deeper understanding naturally requires a shift to a higher level of scientific abstraction. It consists of the fact that an inevitable and objective interpenetration and interlocking of the national public production processes begin at a certain stage in the development of production forces. Next, the gradual formation of a relatively complete regional economic organism with a more or less unified public production process on a regional scale occurs with the active assistance of the political and legal superstructure. Only the national economies of countries with one and the same social and economic systems and with an approximately identical developmental level of production forces can form such a regional body.

The symposium also showed how important it is to distinguish the actual regional integration process from those organizational and political forms in which it appears. The present variety of these forms is extremely great; from the North American "model", where the political and legal aspects of international cooperation are hardly being looked at because of the sufficiently high development of the actual process, to a number of regional organizations in the developing world, where the institutional forms have still practically not been filled with an effective integration content.



This variety in the appearances of one and the same historical trend requires a flexible and dialectical approach in researching such a complicated phenomenon of social life as regional integration. Processes, which are connected with the development of production forces, production relationships and the political and legal suprastructure; economics and politics; the objective and the subjective factors, are interwoven in it. At the same time, the richness of integration "forms and models" opens up for researchers a vast field for scientific research. We are still at the beginning of knowledge on this new phenomenon which will play an ever more important role in the development of the world.

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## TWO BOOKS ON WESTERN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION REVIEWED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 141-143

[Review by M. Bunkina of book "Internatsionalizatsiya kapitala i rabochiy klass" [The Internationalization of Capital and the Working Class] edited by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. B. Lyubimov, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1981, 231 pages; and book "Mezhdunarodnyye monopolii v strategii neokolonializma" (International Monopolies in the Strategy of Neocolonialism) by E. S. Nukhovich, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1982, 256 pages]

[Text] An analysis of the social and political consequences of capital's internationalization permits new and complicated questions in the worker's movements and specific forms for the international antimonopolistic struggle to be revealed, and the further development of the world revolutionary process to be forecast. A collective monograph, prepared by scholars in the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute, makes a weighty contribution to the study of this urgent problem. The connection between the internationalization of the capitalist economy, which is primarily expressed in the activity of multinational corporations (MNC), and the workers' struggle is investigated in it.

As is shown in the work, MNC's are trying to select for the location of their enterprises regions in the industrially developed countries which are "suitable" from the point of view of manpower expenditures and where, for example, large masses of workers and a relatively high level of unemployment are concentrated. At the same time, the authors justifiably note the contrast in the global dynamics of industrial production between the United States and Japan, on the one hand, and Western Europe, on the other. MNC's were the first to export labor-intensive processes beyond the limits of their countries, concentrating them in countries with cheap manpower -- Latin America, South-east Asia and the Far East. Along with the search for profitable areas for the investment of capital abroad, Western European monopolies are shifting labor-intensive types of work to the shoulders of numerous foreign workers who have been imported mainly from Mediterranean states. Both there and here, concerns are exploiting relatively cheap labor. These "spatial" differences in the production of surplus value, however, are giving birth to complicated problems of an economic, social and political nature.

The comparison with the concrete activity of the EEC social program that was stated in the 1957 Rome Treaty and of the 1972 "social activity program", which is made in the monograph, is interesting. Freedom of movement of workers within the Community, which is responsive to the practices of a "market economy", has been introduced; however, in the area of a unified social policy EEC bodies have limited themselves to only partial measures; they are preserving the marked national differences in the size of real wages and unemployment. In 1980, for example, the hourly wage was (that of the FRG is accepted as 100 percent) 113.8 percent in Holland, 107.2 percent in Belgium, 95 percent in Denmark, 79.5 percent in France, 71.9 percent in Italy, and 79.5 percent in England (I, p 122).

In analyzing the effect of MNC's on employment and the structure of the working class (Chapter 2), the authors point out the lack of convergence in the avenues of international capital and manpower migration. Today, Western Europe is the main point of their junction. In 1973, foreign workers were 49.6 percent of those employed by Braun and Boveri in Switzerland, 24 percent of those employed by SKF in Sweden, 21.8 percent of those employed by Renault in France, and 17 percent of those employed by Siemens and AEG-Telefunken in the FRG (I, p 38). All this is evidence of the significant growth in the area of exploiting workers by international monopolistic complexes.

The monograph traces the objective factors because of which MNC's are forced to spend resources on the professional training and retraining of personnel. As the information which is cited in the book for the United States, Canada and Japan testifies, the percentage of engineer and technical personnel specialists and skilled workers in the increase of work positions in the enterprises of the international concerns is usually higher than for industry as a whole. The monopolies use production requirements for skilled labor to break up the worker's movement, and their social policy is intended to "tame" the leaders of the working class and trade unions.

The effect of the social policy of the multinational corporations on overall employment is extremely complicated and contradictory. Their activity stimulates the contradiction between the demand structure for manpower, which changes under the influences of scientific and technical progress, and its supply structure, which is determined by obsolete limits in the division of labor and training of the workers. Combined with the general worsening of capitalist production conditions, this disparity also predetermines a sharp up-surge in unemployment. A noteworthy feature of employment in the enterprises of the monopolistic complexes is its peculiar instability in comparison with employment in national enterprises.

When studying the effect of the concerns on wages, the World Economics and International Relations Institute specialists point out that the average annual wage of workers employed in the area of international enterprise is at a somewhat higher level than that of those employed in the factories of national firms. However, a comparison of hourly wages does not testify in favor of the MNC's. The reason for the break lies in the considerably more volume of overtime and the intensity of the work (that is, an increased degree of exploitation) in the enterprises of the giant companies. At the

same time, MNC's mobilize skilled cadre by establishing wages which somewhat exceed the overall national level. This has considerable influence on the growth rates of labor productivity (the latter, as a rule, is higher in MNC enterprises than in national ones) and on decreasing production costs calculated per unit of production.

In the first of the works being reviewed, the specific avenues in the social policy of the concerns are traced primarily using the example of the Western European countries where the internationalization of capital is being manifested in two forms -- private capital (MNC) and interstate (EEC). The author of the second book has selected as the key subject of his work the social and political aspect of the activity of multinational companies in the developing countries in whose robbing they play a decisive role. Thus, according to the estimates of American scholars R. Barnett and R. Muller, savings in wages alone lower the costs of the monopolies by 20-30 percent (II, p 167). A comparison of hourly wages in the United States and in the overseas enterprises of American corporations reveals a 4-10-fold gap. The intrafirm division of labor within the MNC's transforms part of the economies of the developing countries, especially the so-called export zones which are tax-free, into a peculiar type of technological appendage of the monopolies. Local production, as a rule, does not have a completed nature. It specializes in the manufacture of individual items or the performance of operations for the multinational complex and occurs outside the national industrial structure. The production stages, which are subordinate to the MNC's, are usually related to such labor-intensive branches as electrical engineering, textile and sewing.

The strengthening of the positions of international monopolistic capital leads to the growing relative impoverishment of the masses. Along with this, the corporations are stimulating the emergence in developing countries of "new anger" on the part of managers who have a "national" consciousness and who have been called upon to implement the global plans of the MNC's. Data on the "brain drain" are sounding alarmingly from the young states. Those who leave for the United States alone are reaching 70-80 percent of the immigrating specialists (II, p179). The financial debt to Western creditors, which was inspired to a considerable degree by the activity of the MNC's, has an unhealthy nature. At the beginning of the Eighties, the total debt of the developing countries exceeded 500 billion dollars whereas it was 87 billion dollars at the beginning of the Seventies. The rate of growth in foreign debt exceeds the rate of increase in the gross national product of the liberated states five-sixfold (II, p 80).

The critical analysis of non-Marxist positions on the circle of problems, which have been touched upon, attaches special urgency and political pungency to E. Nukhovich's monograph. Taking into consideration the desire of the developing countries to unite in the task of using new equipment and carrying out large-scale industrialization projects, the apologists of the monopolies are proposing plans for "regionalizing" the ties of the MNC's with the developing states. Such ideas are essentially an attempt to "regionalize" the exploitation of the liberated countries and to strengthen the new forms

of dependence (for example in the area of patents, scientific workers and management). According to the estimates of the Rome Club, the costs of the developing countries in connection with their access to new technology is from 50 to 100 billion dollars annually (II, p 70).

The social concepts, which have appeared as a result of the expansion of the MNC's into the developing states, are investigated skillfully in the work. For example, the thesis of the "new" competition between the workers of the two groups of countries, which are included in the world capitalist economy, is among those critiqued. Several ideologists from social democratic circles are trying to depict MNC's as a factor which contributes to the creation of a "progressive" type of relations between labor and capital. The growth of MNC's really does signify a further international socialization of production and a high maturity of the material preconditions of socialism. However, social necessity forces its way through the aggravation of the main and other contradictions of capitalism. Being a reaction to the strengthening of these objective contradictions, MNC's elevate them to a level which inexorably requires the radical breaking of the entire system of relationships which is based on exploitation and oppression.

Unfortunately, the monographs are not free of several shortcomings. Thus, it would have been advisable in the collective work to pay attention to the social aspects of including the third echelon of Western European countries -- Greece, Spain and Portugal -- in the EEC and to the growing difficulties in working out a single social policy.

Researchers on the monopolistic expansion in the liberated states usually do not have available regular statistical publications: a systematic investigation of the condition of the workers here, as a rule, is not being carried out. This hinders the exposure of the social consequences of MNC activity. That is why the publications of the International Labor Organization (ILO) on matters concerning the dynamics of employment and wages in the developing countries are a definitely useful help to specialists. These materials have remained outside the limits of scientific analysis in E. Nukhovich's work.

However, the comments which have been expressed do not lower the importance of the books being reviewed. Based on a study of rich factual material and containing new and constructive approaches to understanding the critical social problems of today, they represent serious scientific works.

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#### FRG BOOKS ON SDP RELATIONS TO PEACE MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 152-154

[Review by L. Severyanin of books "Wege aus der Gefahr" [Ways Out of Danger] by E. Eppler, Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, Hamburg, 1981, 239 pages (I); "Was Wird aus uns Deutschen? Fragen und Antworten" [What Will Become of Us Germans? Questions and Answers] by E. Bahr, Rowohlt Verlag, 1982, 237 pages (II); and "Mittendrin. Bericht zur Lage von Sozialdemokratie und Republik" [Half Way. A Survey of the Situation in Social Democracy and in the Republic] by H. Scheer, Bund-Verlag, Cologne, 1982, 213 pages (III)]

[Text] The enormous scope, which has been achieved during recent years by the antiwar movement in Western Germany, has posed a whole series of serious problems for the entire political system of the FRG as a state. The movement is exerting an especially important effect on the Social Democratic Party (SDP), in which the greatest inclination to participate in antiwar speeches among the parliamentary parties, is noted.

The mentioned problem is at the center of attention of all three books being reviewed. Their authors, prominent figures in West German social democracy, touch upon various aspects of the antiwar movement and treat them unequally. E. Eppler, one of the oldest members of the party who has repeatedly appeared in its highest organs and who has taken an active part during recent years in the actions of the antiwar forces, generalizes and summarizes to a certain degree his own experiences in his book "Puti iz opasnosti" [Ways Out of Danger]. E. Bahr, as the party's leading expert on disarmament matters and foreign policy, examines in his new book "Chto budet s nami, nemtsami?" [What Will Become of Us Germans?] primarily examines the scope and nature of the threat, which is hanging over the FRG, in connection with the growing arms race; and in this context, he analyzes the goals and capabilities of the antiwar movement. Bundestag deputy H. Scheer, who belongs to the "young" wing of the party is mainly preoccupied with the problem of coordinating the antiwar forces and the SDP. He devotes a large part of his book "Posredine. Obzor polozheniya v sotsial-demokratii i v respublike" [Half Way. A Survey of the Situation in Social Democracy and in the Republic] to this subject.

In it, he specifically admits that many rank and file social democrats are "literally beguiled" by the antiwar movement whose goals they share (III, p 159).

The break-up of the governing SDP-FDP [Free Democratic Party] coalition and the shift of the Social Democrats to the opposition not only did not simplify for the party's leadership the achievement of agreement with the activists in the struggle for peace in its own ranks but it also complicated it even more: Whereas formerly it was possible to call for discipline and to require the unquestioning obedience of Social Democrats participating in the movement by pleading "governmental responsibility", such a pretext did not now work. The "restraint" of the SDP in these matters and its endless concessions to the "younger partner" in the coalition contributed to the accumulation of material for disputes in the party's relations with the most powerful mass antiwar movement which has ever been observed in the entire history of the FRG.

All this is attaching additional urgency to the discussions which are being conducted in the party and which are being reflected in its journals on its attitude toward the West German fighters against war. Their well known ideologist, R. Levental', has formulated the point of view of the leading groupings in the party in a very blunt form. Having ascribed an "anti-industrial" direction to the movement and having accused it of "denying a society based on the division of labor" and at the same time of "retreating from the institutions of our democracy" (III, p 162), he essentially demanded an uncompromising struggle against it in the name of defending the very foundations of democracy which are allegedly being threatened. However, a clear majority in the Social Democrats, just as -- perhaps -- in public opinion in general, have taken a different position, supporting maximum cooperation and mutual understanding with the movement. It is this concept that all three authors reflect although they differ in their understanding of the goals and tasks of this collaboration.

Erhard Eppler, who considers the growth of antiwar sentiments in the country as a very large improvement in the public consciousness and who has accepted its scope as a "complete psychological revolution" (I, p 225), is ready to go the furthest with respect to combining SDP efforts, as well as those of other political parties and public organizations, with the fighters for peace and disarmament. In his opinion, the task of state policy and of all parties should today consist not of erecting useless obstacles to the new movement (or movements, as he prefers to express it in connection with the political multiplicity of those who are in favor of defending peace and international security) but of insuring maximum free access to "the stream of the new consciousness in existing institutions" (ibid.). Otherwise, he thinks, a dangerous complication in the entire political system is unavoidable. Eppler avoids specific recommendations, insisting only on cooperation, dialogue and contacts with the "movements" -- especially when the latter "are trying to tear themselves out from under party and political influences" (I, p 224). In the name of "political cooperation" and, in the final analysis, of "integrating" the antiwar movement, he admits the need for concessions to it and the satisfaction of a number of its demands.



It is remarkable that Eppler, who was a Protestant minister in the past, thinks that the radical reorientation of both major churches -- the Catholic and the Protestant -- towards an active defense of peace to have matured. He writes that such a turning has already occurred "from below" in the masses of the believers and that it is necessary to conduct the policy of the leading religious organizations in accordance with it. The author attaches exceptionally important significance to this restructuring, calling it a "second reformation" (I, p 231). According to his assertions, "Christianity in this world will only be able to find its historical justification" if it finds in itself the strength to go on to a radical re-evaluation of its values together with other public institutions (ibid.).

Egon Bahr, the author of the second book being reviewed, while praising the policy of relaxing tensions and criticizing a number of aspects of Washington's policy of increasing tensions and the arms race, nevertheless, takes up the defense of NATO's "dual solution" and other "rearmament" measures. His attitude toward the antiwar movement, including that in his own party, is clearly contradictory. On the one hand, he recognizes that the anxiety, which has seized the population masses of the FRG in the face of the military strategy of the United States and NATO which envisages a "limited" nuclear war "to victory" in Europe, to be completely justified; on the other hand, he reduces all the public's reaction to the military preparations to an "expression of elementary fear" (II, p 102) and based on this he denies a rational justification to the most important ideas and slogans advanced by the fighters for peace. True, in principle E. Bahr is ready to see in the growth of the movement an indicator of a certain social maturity; however, at the same time he does not conceal the fact that the further growth of this movement alarms him. The impression is created that he is in favor of an "integration" of the antiwar movement within the SDP and on a broader social scale which would cause it to lose to a considerable degree its sharpness. There is no doubt that West German social democracy itself, from whom the masses that are disillusioned in its policy would recoil, would primarily suffer a serious loss because of this.

To a certain degree, H. Scheer occupies an intermediate position between the approaches of E. Eppler and E. Bahr. He emphasizes that "the SDP would not be able to abruptly distance itself from the new world movement because of internal circumstances" (III, p 150) -- antiwar sentiments have so deeply penetrated into the party itself and have broadly spread in it. In his opinion, the complete and notorious hopelessness of any attempts to directly oppose this movement -- as the politicians and ideologists of the R. Levental'-type apparently wish -- comes from this. At the same time, he considers the simple integration of the antiwar movement into social democracy impractical and inadvisable since in this case the party would have to allow into its ranks the left wing of the antiwar movement which has formulated the slogan "better red than dead". This would mean a strengthening of the centrifugal trends in the SDP which it could not stand in its present form (ibid.). The author would eagerly greet a definite lowering in the activity of the antiwar movement. However, he does not see such a prospect. H. Scheer supposes

that even in the event that the question of medium range missiles is solved "through the appropriate result of negotiations", the movement would develop further "since there is a whole series of other subjects and questions which could be raised" (III, pp 148-149). If the cause comes down to the actual deployment of the new American missiles in the FRG, in this case -- in his estimation -- "not only will the movement achieve its culmination, but serious consequences for parliamentary democracy and the political system could also arise" (III, p 149). These "serious consequences" are connected by him to the possibility of the appearance of a new parliamentary party in the Bundestag-- a party which "would regard itself as the main opposition to the entire system of insuring security by military means" (ibid.). Let us point out that the author considers such a turn definitely undesirable. It is interesting that here he agrees with the point of view of E. Eppler who also opposes the formation of a "small party" (why small?) with an antiwar program: In his opinion, such a party would walk off with a considerable part of the leftwing forces from the SDP and would shove it to the right by this (p 225).

How should the relations of social democracy and the antimilitarist social forces be structured? H. Scheer holds the opinion that the "division of labor" between social democracy and the trade union movement can serve to a certain degree as an example here. The SDP should not try to directly interfere in the antiwar movement or moreover head it -- just as it is not trying to do this with regard to the trade unions. It must proceed to the "advancement of general slogans when the opportunity presents itself" but avoid ties, no matter how organized, "respecting the movement of the antiwar forces and their autonomy" (III, p 164). According to the author, this coexistence of the Social Democrats, just as that of the other political parties, with the antiwar movement is only capable of creating the preconditions for the "gradual integration" of the latter into the political system.

The prescription suggested by H. Scheer and other social democratic authors, directs attention toward itself. It is not only notable for the inaccuracies and vagueness of the recommendations, but -- and this is the main thing, -- it suffers from a fundamental flaw -- fear of the movement -- which is a carefully masked but sufficiently evident rejection of it as supposedly something "alien" to democracy. The attacks against the leftwing forces, who are participating in the movement, come from this. However, such a point of view -- no matter what motivates it -- is false. The present antiwar movement in the FRG, just as in the other capitalist countries, is in no way directed against existing political institutions; its goal is something else -- the insuring of peace, the removal of the threat of nuclear death from the planet and the rescuing of relaxation of tensions in international relations.

It is here that a main watershed has arrived. Any actions, directed against weakening this movement -- for example, by splitting the forces which compose it or by inflaming the contradictions in their ranks -- would play into the hands not of parliamentary order but of the small group of inveterate militarists who are accelerating military preparations and shoving the world toward an atomic precipice by this. The preservation of peace is the

decisive task of our age. Absolute primacy in front of all other political requirements of the day belongs to this task.

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FRENCH COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON ISLAM, MODERNIZATION REVIEWED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 154-156

[Review by D. Malysheva of book "L'Islam et l'Etat dans le monde d'aujourd'hui" [Islam and the State in Today's World], Presses Universitaires de France, 1982, 270 pages]

[Text] The collection of articles "Islam i gosudarstvo v segodnyashnem mire" [Islam and the State in Today's World] was published in Paris with the participation and under the direction of the well known French specialist on the Near East, Olev'ye Karre.

The intense attention of bourgeois scholars toward the religious and political situation in countries with a predominantly Muslim population has been evoked not only by a purely academic interest but also by the needs of practical politics. In many of their works which have been published since the Iranian revolution (1979), the thought is persistently emphasized that a gap in the knowledge about Muslim countries, the ignoring of Islam's role as a social and political force, and the underestimation of its influence on the frame of mind and political conduct of the masses played a negative role in the development of the West's strategy with respect to the states of the Muslim East.

It is pointed out in the preface to the book that it is a source for the "preliminary exchange of opinions within a multidiscipline working group" whose participants are not the adherents of any one certain avenue in the French science of Islamic study (p 9). The authors draw on a broad circle of very varied material and sources: the works and statements of religious, political and state figures; documents; the press. Not all of the articles, which are included in the collection, are of equal value. Along with detailed investigations (the most successful articles analyze the role of Islam in the political life of the Near East states, the Maghreb, and Iran), the book contains material of a superficial, descriptive and fragmentary nature.

The participants in the work being reviewed try to avoid the subjectivist ideas, which predominated in the Western science of Eastern studies during the Fifties and Sixties, that the influence of Islam would inevitably weaken in the countries of Asia and Africa who were following a course towards the capitalist modernization of their economies. As a counterweight to this point of view, it is emphasized in the majority of the collection's articles that, despite efforts to fuse the traditional and bourgeois structures and the attempts which were undertaken by the leaders of a number of Muslim states to secularize public life, Islam's influence still remains extremely significant. In the opinion of the authors, the attitude of the masses of believers towards Muslim traditions as a counterweight to the bourgeois way of life plays far from a minor role in the preservation of this influence.

It is emphasized in the book that the so-called "people who have been excluded from the development process" (p 52), that is, the representatives of the middle urban layers -- artisans, handicraftsmen and small merchants -- formed the social base of the mass Islamic movements in the Arab East, in Iran and in a number of other states. In the opinion of the authors, it was they who attached an anticapitalist content to the movement. "The revolutionary impulse, which was inspired by Islamic demands for social justice and which was supported by the Muslim capitalists and states producing oil", it is pointed out in the collection, can be turned against any pro-West regime in the East as soon as the opportunity presents itself (p 19).

It is natural that a large part of the articles is devoted to the religious and political situation in the states of the Near East where Muslims form a majority of the population and where Islam is recognized as the official religion almost everywhere. Although the authors lay claim to an independent and objective approach to the events which are being examined, they do not always succeed in this, especially when the subject concerns the activity of the "Muslim brotherhood" organization.

In describing the ideology of the latter as an "Islamic utopia" since it is fighting for a "pure, egalitarian, just" "Islamic order", (p 19), O. Karre and M. Sëra point out that the perception of Islam as not only a religious but also a "perfect political and ideological system", for whose establishment the "brotherhood" is fighting using every method, giving preference to force, lies at its basis. In maintaining that it is impossible to see this organization in a simplified manner, they at the same time are clearly inclined to overstate the radicalism of its political doctrine and the positive significance of the "concept of Islamic economy" which has been proposed by its ideologists. This evaluation does not correspond to reality. The authors overlook the fact that the "Muslim brotherhood" opposes progressive reforms and forms alliances with reactionary antisocialist circles, thereby playing into the hands of imperialist forces. Their activity is directed at destabilizing the intrapolitical situation in a whole number of countries.

In an article devoted to the role of Islam in the political life of the Maghreb countries, considerable attention is paid by G. Grangiy to movements,

which are similar in type to the "Muslim brotherhood", maintaining that they are becoming at the present time an influential factor in the political life of many Arab states. The author is inclined to regard the political and ideological struggle in the latter during the period of their independent development within the framework of a clash of two cultures: popular, "populist" and Islamic, on the one hand; and "Western" which was introduced by the colonialists -- on the other hand (p 51).

In the opinion of the author, Islam -- when it encounters these "alien influences" -- either adapts or rejects them. In the first case, it leads to the emergence of "modernism" and of "Islamic socialism" and to attempts to create a certain "amalgam" of Islamic and Western rationalism. In the second variant, Islam is used by the religious and political movements, including the "Muslim brotherhood", as "a slogan for distinguishing and repudiating foreign systems" (p 52).

Even with several rational ideas contained in it, however, such an approach completely does not consider the powerful social and economic roots of the Arab peoples' protest against the colonial oppression and social inequality to which the neocolonial system is giving birth. The fact that the protest of the masses is often cloaked in a religious jacket, in the form of a struggle against "the West's cultural imperialism" and bourgeois morals and values, is not at all evidence of a denial of Western civilization in general that is supposedly inherent in the Muslim peoples. It is only the outward manifestation of the growing deep disillusionment of the peoples of the developing countries in the social development concepts which are being thrust upon them by the imperialist countries and whose realization has not only not eliminated but has aggravated their dependence even more and led to the intensification of their social differentiation.

It is interesting in this regard that the author of the article on the Iranian revolution, Zh. P. Digar, is not inclined to overrate the effect of the Islamic political doctrine on the public and political situation in pre-revolutionary Iran. Moreover, he refutes the assertion, which has become traditional in the West, that the reasons for the Iranian revolution lie in the Shiite tradition of disobedience to authorities and of opposition to any government. The French researcher thinks that the main social watershed occurred in Iran not between the clergy and the "secular forces", but within each of these groups who are promoting their own political demands. Therefore, the unity of the clergy, which is often overrated in bourgeois works, is placed under question by him (p 86).

The book being reviewed does not fully embrace the entire set of problems which are connected with Islam's political role in the modern world; however, at the same time it provides a picture of how broad their range is. Besides the articles which have been mentioned, the situation of Muslims in India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Turkey, Lebanon, Niger, and Senegal is examined in it; and their place in state organizational development, Islam's role in forming political parties and groupings and its effect on

arranging political forces are shown. The vast factual material, which is contained in the collection, undoubtedly deserves the attention of both specialists in Eastern studies and the broad circle of researchers who are engaged in the social and political aspects of the religion.

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#### BOOK ON ANGOLAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REVIEWED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 21 Feb 83) pp 156-157

[Review by I. Ustinov of book "Razvitiye ekonomiki nezavisimoy Angoly" [The Development of the Economy of Independent Angola] by L. L. Fituni, Moscow, Main Editorial Board for Eastern Literature, Izdatel'stvo Nauka", 1981, 173 pages]

[Text] An important role in the life of present-day Africa belongs to the People's Republic of Angola (PRA). The young state has proclaimed a socialist orientation, having begun the implementation of a broad program of progressive social and economic reforms. In the area of foreign policy, the PRA is on the forward edge of the struggle against the remnants of neocolonialism and racism in the southern part of the continent. This cannot fail to affect the economic development of the country.

The work being reviewed embraces a broad set of Angola's national economic problems and summarizes the experience which has been accumulated by the PRA in building its economy during the years of independence. The book begins with an analysis of the sources of the country's social and economic development during the colonial period. In doing this, the author does not confine himself only to a description of purely economic indicators; a great deal of attention is devoted to investigating the social changes which occurred on the eve of the colonial regime's downfall.

When examining modern production problems, L. Fituni dwells on such questions as the national development strategy, the specific peculiarities in the functioning of individual sectors of the economy, and the tasks in overcoming the unevenness in the economic development of individual regions and the territorial distribution of production.

The PRA must solve the economic reconstruction questions under complicated conditions. The 1975-1976 armed intervention, which was organized by the imperialists, deprived the country of almost half of its economic potential.

U. S. attempts to establish an economic blockade of the republic followed the aggression. They are now counting on the incessant aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa which have inflicted a loss estimated at 6.7 billion dollars on Angola's economy (p 33).

The economic reconstruction strategy and tactics which have been worked out by the MPLA-the Labor Party, are analyzed in detail in the work. The first decrees of the PRA government have testified that considerable changes are occurring in the system of production relationships: Land was declared to be the property of the state; a state sector began to be created; a law established the length of the work day and the minimum wage; steps were taken to shift the economy to a planned track; and free education and medical care have been introduced. Following the economic development concepts which have been developed, the republic has adopted a course toward the creation of a harmonious and dynamic national economy. It has been determined that agriculture is the main factor during the stage of the popular democratic revolution and that industry is the decisive factor for social economic development.

Profound changes have occurred in the mentioned areas of the economy during the years of independence. As is pointed out in the book, the dominant positions have begun to belong to the state sector in the industrial branches. A total of 100 percent of the cloth, sugar, plywood, and steel construction framework produced in the country; 98 percent of the metal packing; 80 percent of the ships; 76 percent of the margarine; 67 percent of the matches; 52 percent of the leather footwear; and 25 percent of the cement are produced in nationalized enterprises (p 40). The state sector has been transformed into the chief factor of economic reconstruction during a short period. The author comes to the conclusion that, although the state sector in the PRA is still in the making, it is now already carrying out very complicated tasks in reconstructing the country's economic structure. It is in its enterprises that the elements of the fundamentally new, social and progressive forms for organizing production are beginning to be asserted and the competition of the workers expanded (ibid.).

In agriculture, a course has been adopted toward the cooperation of the peasants and the creation of progressive and highly productive state farms. The majority of Angola's able-bodied population is employed in this branch. That is why the reforms, which have been made in it, affect the vital interests of the main mass of the workers. As L. Fituni rightfully points out, the appearance of cooperatives in their present form signifies a qualitative jump in the development of production forces in the Angolan village (p 42).

The great deal of attention, which is devoted in the work to examining the country's foreign economic ties, is fully justified. The colonialists oriented its economy toward satisfying the requirements of the developed capitalist states for mineral and agricultural raw materials. On the eve of its declaration of independence, Angola occupied fourth place in the world in the export of coffee, one of the first places in the mining and export of diamonds, and third place in tropical Africa in the export of crude oil. The growth of its economy depended at the time primarily on an influx of foreign capital.

Although the situation has changed considerably now, the branches, which are oriented toward the foreign market, remain as before the basis of the Angolan economy. A considerable number of foreign companies have been nationalized in the republic; however, capital investments from abroad are still to a considerable degree one of the important additional sources for financing developmental programs. L. Fituni singles out a number of new features in the activity of foreign private capital in the PRA. First, there is the curtailment or complete halt of the flow of capital from the "traditional" investor countries (from Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the FRG). Second, the companies of those capitalist states, who practically did not have any access here during the colonial period (Italy, Brazil, Sweden, etc.) have become sharply more active in the Angolan market. Finally, a very important distinctive feature of the activity of foreign capital in the PRA is the fact that during the present stage it is being done under the control of the state which uses it to develop the country's economy (pp 94-95).

In the book, the problems of the further development of PRA foreign trade ties are examined in detail and the commodity export and import structure and geographic distribution of foreign trade are analyzed. Although the share of the capitalist countries in the country's exports and imports is still great, a clear trend toward its curtailment has been noted. That is why it seems that this section of the work would have undoubtedly gained from a more thorough analysis of the prospects for the development of PRA trade with the developing countries and of the republic's participation in the integration measures which are being carried out by the independent countries of South Africa.

Angola's economic ties with the socialist states are continuously expanding. A detailed analysis of this mutually beneficial cooperation is given in the book. Specialists from the USSR, Cuba and other socialist countries are helping to restore industry, agriculture, energy, and transportation and to reorganize the financial system, education and health care. The Soviet Union is helping the young republic to expand the production of cotton and wheat, adjust shipyard operations, create a native fishing fleet, and train national cadres. The fraternal relations between the two countries are based on the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the PRA which was signed in 1976. The cooperation with the socialist states is creating favorable conditions for reorganizing the economy and social life of Angola and for the advancement of the young African state along the path of progress and independence.

L. Fituni's monograph is an extremely topical research paper -- to the point, the first one in native and foreign literature specially devoted to the economy of independent Angola. We hope that it will be greeted with interest by the reader.

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